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ABSTRACT

This curriculum unit for citizenship education deals with the office of the President of the United States. It emphasizes how a president exercises the powers of his office. Attention is also focused on the changing role of the presidency in recent years, including the power to make war and peace, downgraded importance of the Cabinet, and upgraded importance of the White House staff and presidential assistants. Chapters focus on (1) the president's inaugural address; (2) the president's staff and Cabinet; (3) how the president works with Congress; (4) the president's role as Commander-in-Chief; (5) the decision-making process; (6) the president's role as leader of the nation; and (7) the president's role as leader of the political party. Examples such as political cartoons and case studies from recent history illuminate the textual material by illustrating how presidential functions have been implemented in the past. For instance, the Cuban Missile Crisis is used as a case study of the decision-making process. Also, discussion questions are interspersed throughout the text. A teacher's guide is included which provides suggested readings for the teacher and ongoing, chapter, and culminating activities which involve inquiry exercises, in-depth discussion, and research projects. (Author/ND)

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

THE LAVINIA AND CHARLES P. SCHWARTZ CITIZENSHIP PROJECT

STUDENT BOOK

THE PRESIDENT AT WORK

by
Anne A. Matthews

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Dr. Mark M. Krug, Editor

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PREFACE

This is the sixth unit in the series of curriculum units in citizenship education published by The Schwartz Citizenship Project. It deals with the office of the President of the United States but in keeping with the unique philosophy of the project, the emphasis is not on what the Presidency is but on how the President goes about exercising the powers of his office.

The author is also focusing attention on the changing role of the Presidency in recent years. These include the power of the President to make war and peace and the downgrading of the importance of the Cabinet and the upgrading of the importance of the White House staff and the President's assistants.

In describing the Presidency, Mrs. Anne Matthews focuses on the President as Leader of the Nation, as the Commander in Chief of the United States armed forces, as the Chief Executive and as the Leader of the Party. Examples from recent history enliven and illuminate the textual material.

Mark M. Krug, Editor

Note: Mrs. Anne Matthews, author of this unit, has a Master's degree from Florida State University and is Chairman of the Social Studies Department at Woodham High School in Pensacola, Florida.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION: THE MANY HATS OF THE PRESIDENT 3

CHAPTER ONE: THE PRESIDENT PRESENTS HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS 5

CHAPTER TWO: THE PRESIDENT WORKS WITH HIS STAFF AND CABINET 15

CHAPTER THREE: THE PRESIDENT WORKS WITH CONGRESS 21

CHAPTER FOUR: THE PRESIDENT AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF 33

CHAPTER FIVE: PRESIDENTIAL DECISION-MAKING PROCESS: A CASE STUDY – THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS 43

CHAPTER SIX: THE PRESIDENT AS LEADER OF THE NATION 51

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE PRESIDENT AS LEADER OF THE PARTY 61

NATION
PARTY
STAFF-CABINET
MBAILEY

INTRODUCTION

THE MANY HATS OF THE PRESIDENT

Have you ever heard anyone say that he or she wanted to be President of the United States? What kind of a person would want to be President? What qualifications should a President have? Perhaps no human being has all the essential characteristics required by the demands of such a powerful and important office.

The President of the United States is a "wearer of many hats." Clinton Rossiter in the book, THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY, explains these functions of the Presidency when he speaks of Pooh-Bah in the Gilbert and Sullivan opera MIKADO:

> ...if there is any one thing about him (the President) that strikes the eye immediately, it is the staggering burden he bears for all of us. Those who cherish Gilbert and Sullivan will remember Pooh-Bah, the "particularly haughty and exclusive person" in THE MIKADO who filled the offices of "First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Chief Justice, Commander-In-Chief, Lord High Admiral, Master of the Buckhounds, Groom of the Back Stairs, Archbishop of Titipu, and Lord Mayor, both acting and elect." We chuckle at the fictitious Pooh-Bah; we can only wonder at the real one that history has made of the American President. He has at least three jobs for every one of Pooh-Bah's, and they are not performed with the flick of a lacquered fan.[1]

The following chapters of THE PRESIDENT AT WORK will view the President and the meaning of his Inaugural Address, the relationship of the President with his staff, cabinet and Congress, and provide insights into his role as leader of his party, Commander-In-Chief of the United States and leader of the nation.

PROMISES,
PROMISES
MBAILEY

CHAPTER 1

THE PRESIDENT PRESENTS HIS INAUGURAL ADDRESS

On the day that the President is inaugurated (sworn into office or takes the oath of office from the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court), he gives a speech to the nation that is called his Inaugural Address.

The President and his staff devote many long hours and attention to this speech because in this Address the key themes and aims of his Presidency will be presented. Although many speech writers may help the President write his Inaugural Address, it reflects his thoughts and his hopes for his Presidency. Many of these Inaugural Addresses have been of such high quality that they have become well known masterpieces in American literature.

It is interesting to compare what some Presidents have promised in their first addresses to the nation and what they actually did during their term of office. To do this, we need to read some of their Inaugural Addresses to see if a particular President did what he said he was going to do or whether he accomplished much more or much less than he said he would do.

Make a chart for each of the following three Inaugural Addresses. Example of chart:

PRESIDENT (NAME)

Inaugural Address Promises	Administration Results
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.
4.	4.
List as many as you can find in his Inaugural Address	List as many results as you can find in reference books or history textbooks

ACTIVITIES:

1. Read the following three Inaugural Addresses and fill in a chart for each telling what the President said he was going to do.

2. Use other reference books, for example, a United States history textbook, to find out what the President actually was able to do and fill in the right hand column of the chart.

QUESTIONS:

1. Do you think it is always possible for the President to carry out all of his promises?

2. What are some of the reasons why he might not be able to put all of his promises into practice?

3. Do you think that some Presidents actually accomplish more than they promise? For what reasons?

Theodore Roosevelt
(1905-1909)
INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1905
Capitol Steps, Washington, D. C.

My fellow-citizens, no people on earth have more cause to be thankful than ours, and this is said reverently, in no spirit of boastfulness in our own strength, but with gratitude to the Giver of Good who has blessed us with the conditions which have enabled us to achieve so large a measure of well-being and of happiness. To us as a people it has been granted to lay the foundations of our national life in a new continent. We are the heirs of the ages, and yet we have had to pay few of the penalties which in old countries are exacted by the dead hand of a bygone civilization. We have not been obliged to fight for our existence against any alien race; and yet our life has called for the vigor and effort without which the manlier and hardier virtues wither away. Under such conditions it would be our own fault if we failed; and the success which we have had in the past, the success which we confidently believe the future will bring, should cause in us no feeling of vain glory, but rather a deep and abiding realization of all which life has offered us; a full acknowledgement of the responsibility which is ours; and a fixed determination to show that under a free government a mighty people can thrive best, alike as regards the things of the body and the things of the soul.

Much has been given us, and much will rightfully be expected from us. We have duties to others and to ourselves; and we can shirk neither. We have become a great nation, forced by the fact of its greatness into relations with the other nations of the earth, and we must behave as beseems a people with such responsibilities. Toward all other nations, large and small, our attitude must be one of cordial and sincere friendship. We

must show not only in our words, but in our deeds, that we are earnestly desirous of securing their good will by acting toward them in a spirit of just and generous recognition of all their rights. But justice and generosity in a nation, as in an individual, count most when shown not by the weak but by the strong. While ever careful to refrain from wrongdoing others, we must be no less insistent that we are not wronged ourselves. We wish peace, but we wish the peace of justice, the peace of righteousness. We wish it because we think it is right and not because we are afraid. No weak nation that acts manfully and justly should ever have cause to fear us, and no strong power should ever be able to single us out as a subject for insolent aggression.

Our relations with the other powers of the world are important; but still more important are our relations among ourselves. Such growth in wealth, in population, and in power as this nation has seen during the century and a quarter of its national life is inevitably accompanied by a like growth in the problems which are ever before every nation that rises to greatness. Power invariably means both responsibility and danger. Our forefathers faced certain perils which we have outgrown. We now face other perils, the very existence of which it was impossible that they should foresee. Modern life is both complex and intense, and the tremendous changes wrought by the extraordinary industrial development of the last half century are felt in every fiber of our social and political being. Never before have men tried so vast and formidable an experiment as that of administering the affairs of a continent under the forms of a Democratic republic. The conditions which have told for our marvelous well-being, which have developed to a very high degree our energy, self-reliance, and individual initiative, have also brought the care and anxiety inseparable from the accumulation of great wealth in industrial centers. Upon the success of our experiment much depends, not only as regards our own welfare, but as regards the welfare of mankind. If we fail, the cause of free self-government throughout the world will rock to its foundations, and therefore our responsibility is heavy, to ourselves, to the world as it is to-day, and to the generations yet unborn. There is no good reason why we should fear the future, but there is every reason why we should face it seriously, neither hiding from ourselves the gravity of the problems before us nor fearing to approach these problems with the unbending, unflinching purpose to solve them aright.

Yet, after all, though the problems are new, though the tasks set before us differ from the tasks set before our fathers who founded and preserved this Republic, the spirit in which these tasks must be undertaken and these problems faced, if our duty is to be well done, remains essentially unchanged. We know that self-government is difficult. We know that no people needs such high traits of character as that people which seeks to govern its affairs aright through the freely expressed will of the freemen who compose it. But we have faith that we shall not prove false to the memories of the men of the mighty past. They did their work, they left us the splendid heritage we now enjoy. We in our turn have assured confidence that we shall be able to leave this heritage unwasted and enlarged to our children and our children's children. To do so we must show, not merely in great crises, but in the everyday affairs of life, the qualities of practical intelligence, of courage, of hardihood, and endurance, and above all the power of devotion to a lofty ideal, which made great the men who founded this Republic in the days of Washington, which made great the men who preserved this Republic in the days of Abraham Lincoln.

Woodrow Wilson
(1913-1917)
FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1913
Capitol Steps, Washington, D. C.

There has been a change of government. It began two years ago, when the House of Representatives became Democratic by a decisive majority. It has now been completed. The State about to assemble will also be Democratic. The offices of President and Vice-President have been put into the hands of Democrats. What does the change mean? That is the question that is uppermost in our minds today. That is the question I am going to try to answer, in order, if I may, to interpret the occasion.

It means much more than the mere success of a party. The success of a party means little except when the Nation is using that party for a large and definite purpose. No one can mistake the purpose for which the Nation now seeks to use the Democratic Party. It seeks to use it to interpret a change in its own plans and point of view. Some old things with which we had grown familiar, and which had begun to creep into the very habit of our thought and of our lives, have altered their aspect as we have latterly looked critically upon them, with fresh, awakened eyes; have dropped their disguises and shown themselves alien and sinister. Some new things, as we look frankly upon them, willing to comprehend their real character, have come to assume the aspect of things long belived in and familiar, stuff of our own convictions. We have been refreshed by a new insight into our own life.

We see that in many things that life is very great. It is incomparably great in its material aspects, in its body of wealth, in the diversity and sweep of its energy, in the industries which have been conceived and built up by the genius of individual men and the limitless enterprise of groups of men. It is great, also, very great, in its moral force. Nowhere else in the world have noble men and women exhibited in more striking forms the beauty and the energy of sympathy and helpfulness and counsel in their efforts to rectify wrong, alleviate suffering, and set the weak in the way of strength and hope. We have built up, moreover, a great system of government, which has stood through a long age as in many respects a model for those who seek to set liberty upon foundations that will endure against fortuitous change, against storm and accident. Our life contains every great thing, and contains it in rich abundance.

But the evil has come with the good, and much fine gold has been corroded. With riches has come inexcusable waste. We have squandered a great part of what we might have used, and have not stopped to conserve the exceeding bounty of nature, without which our genius for enterprise would have been worthless and impotent, scorning to be careful, shamefully prodigal as well as admirably efficient. We have been proud of our industrial achievements, but we have not hitherto stopped throughtfully enough to count the human cost, the cost of lives snuffed out, of energies overtaxed and broken, the fearful physical and spiritual cost to the men and women and children upon whom the dead weight and burden of it all has fallen pitilessly the years through. The groans and agony of it all had not yet reached our ears, the solemn, moving undertone of our life, coming up out of the mines and factories and out of every home where the struggle had its intimate and familiar seat. With the great Government went many deep secret things which we too long delayed to look into and scrutinize with candid, fearless eyes. The great Government we loved has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people.

At last a vision has been vouchsafed us of our life as a whole. We see the bad with the good, the debased and decadent with the sound and vital. With this vision we approach

new affairs. Our duty is to cleanse, to reconsider, to restore, to correct the evil without impairing the good, to purify and humanize every process of our common life without weakening or sentimentalizing it. There has been something crude and heartless and unfeeling in our haste to succeed and be great. Our thought has been "Let every man look out for himself, let every generation look out for itself," while we reared giant machinery which made it impossible that any but those who stood at the levers of control should have a chance to look out for themselves. We had not forgotten our morals. We remembered well enough that we had set up a policy which was meant to serve the humblest as well as the most powerful, with an eye single to the standards of justice and fair play, and remembered it with pride. But we were very heedless and in a hurry to be great.

We have come now to the sober second thought. The scales of heedlessness have fallen from our eyes. We have made up our minds to square every process of our national life again with the standards we so proudly set up at the beginning and have always carried at our hearts. Our work is a work of restoration.

We have itemized with some degree of particularity the things that ought to be altered and here are some of the chief items: A tariff which cuts us off from our proper part in the commerce of the world, violates the just principles of taxation, and makes the Government a facile instrument in the hand of private interests; a banking and currency system based upon the necessity of the Government to sell its bonds fifty years ago and perfectly adapted to concentrating cash and restricting credits; an industrial system which, take it on all its sides, financial as well as administrative, holds capital in leading strings, restricts the liberties and limits the opportunities of labor, and exploits without renewing or conserving the natural resources of the country; a body of agricultural activities never yet given the efficiency of great business undertakings or served as it should be through the instrumentality of science taken directly to the farm, or afforded the facilities of credit best suited to its practical needs; watercourses undeveloped, waste placed unreclaimed, forests untended, fast disappearing without plan or prospect of renewal, unregarded waste heaps at every mine. We have studied as perhaps no other nation has the most effective means of production, but we have not studied cost or economy as we should either as organizers of industry, as statesmen, or as individuals.

Nor have we studied and perfected the means by which government may put at the service of humanity, in safeguarding the health of the Nation, the health of its men and its women and its children, as well as their rights in the struggle for existence. This is no sentimental duty. The firm basis of government is justice, not pity. These are matters of justice. There can be no equality or opportunity, the first essential of justice in the body of politic, if men and women and children be not shielded in their lives, their very vitality, from the consequences of great industrial and social processes which they can not alter, or singly cope with. Society must see to it that it does not itself crush or weaken or damage its own constituent parts. The first duty of law is to keep sound the society it serves. Sanitary laws, pure food laws, and laws determining conditions of labor which individuals are powerless to determine for themselves are intimate parts of the very business of justice and legal efficiency.

These are some of the things we ought to do, and not leave the others undone, the old-fashioned, never-to-be-neglected, fundamental safeguardings of property and of individual right. This is the high enterprise of the new day: To lift everything that concerns our life as a Nation to the light that shines from the hearthfire of every man's conscience and vision of the right. It is inconceivable that we should do this as partisans; it

is inconceivable we should do it in ignorance of the facts as they are or in blind haste. We shall restore, not destroy. We shall deal with our economic system as it is and as it may be modified, not as it might be if we had a clean sheet of paper to write upon; and step by step we shall make it what it should be, in the spirit of those who question their own wisdom and seek counsel and knowledge, not shallow self-satisfaction or the excitement of excursions whether they can not tell. Justice, and only justice, shall always be our motto.

And yet it will be no cool process of mere science. The Nation has been deeply stirred, stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrong, of ideals lost, of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil. The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heartstrings like some air out of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one. We know our task to be no mere task of politics but a task which shall search us through and through, whether we be able to understand our time and the need of our people, whether we be indeed their spokesmen and interpreters, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high course of action.

This is not a day of triumph; it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me!

13

"His weight rests on the staff."

Lyndon Baines Johnson
(1965-1969)
INAUGURAL ADDRESS, JANUARY 20, 1965
Capitol Steps, Washington, D.C.

My fellow countrymen: On this occasion, the oath I have taken before you and before God, is not mine alone, but ours together. We are one nation and one people. Our fate as a nation and our future as a people rest not upon one citizen but upon all citizens.

That is the majesty and the meaning of this moment.

For every generation, there is a destiny. For some, history decides. For this generation, the choice must be our own.

Even now, a rocket moves toward Mars. It reminds us that the world will not be the same for our children, or even for ourselves in a short span of years. The next man to stand here will look out on a scene that is different from our own, because ours is a time of change - rapid and fantastic change - baring the secrets of nature - multiplying the nations - placing in uncertain hands new weapons for mastery and destruction - shaking old values and uprooting old ways.

Our destiny in the midst of change will rest on the unchanged character of our people and on their faith.

They came here - the exile and the stranger, brave but frightened - to find a place where a man could be his own man. They made a covenant with this land. Conceived in justice, written in liberty, bound in union, it was meant one day to inspire the hopes of all mankind, and it binds us still. If we keep its terms we shall flourish.

First, justice was the promise that all who made the journey would share in the fruits of the land.

In a land of great wealth, families must not live in hopeless poverty.

In a land rich in harvest, children just must not go hungry.

In a land of healing miracles, neighbors must not suffer and die untended.

In a great land of learning and scholars, young people must be taught to read and write.

For the more than thirty years that I have served this nation, I have believed that this injustice to our people, this waste of our resources, was our real enemy. For thirty years or more, with the resources I have had, I have vigilantly fought against it. I have learned and I know it will not surrender easily.

But change has given us new weapons. Before this generation of Americans is finished, this enemy will not only retreat - it will be conquered.

Justice requires us to remember: when any citizen denies his fellow, saying: His color is not mine or his beliefs are strange and different, in that moment he betrays America, though his forebears created this nation.

Liberty was the second article of our covenant. It was self-government, it was our Bill of Rights. But it was more. America would be a place where each man could be proud to be himself: stretching his talents, rejoicing in his work, important in the life of his neighbors and his nation.

This has become more difficult in a world where change and growth seem to tower beyond the control and even the judgment of men. We must work to provide the knowledge and the surroundings which can enlarge the possibilities of every citizen.

The American covenant called on us to help show the way for the liberation of man, and that is our goal. Thus, if as a nation, there is much outside our control,

as a people no stranger is outside our hope.

Change has brought new meaning to that old mission. We can never stand aside prideful in isolation. Terrific dangers and troubles that we once called "foreign" now constantly live among us. If American lives must end, and American treasure be spilled, in countries that we barely know, then that is the price that change has demanded of conviction and of our enduring covenant.

Think of our world as it looks from that rocket that is heading toward Mars. It is like a child's globe, hanging in space, the continent stuck to its side like colored maps. We are all fellow passengers on a dot of earth. And each of us, in the span of time, has really only a moment among his companions.

How incredible it is that in this fragile existence we should hate and destroy one another. There are possibilities enough for all who will abandon mastery over others to pursue mastery over nature. There is world enough for all to seek their happiness in their own way.

Our nation's course is abundantly clear. We aspire to nothing that belongs to others. We seek no dominion over our fellow man, but man's dominion over tyranny and misery.

But more is required. Men want to be a part of a common enterprise - a cause greater than themselves. And each of us must find a way to advance the purpose of the nation, thus finding new purpose for ourselves. Without this, we simply become a nation of strangers.

The third article is union. To those who were small and few against the wilderness, the success of liberty demanded the strength of the union. Two centuries of change have made this true again.

No longer need capitalist and worker, farmer and clerk, city and countryside, struggle to divide our bounty. By working shoulder to shoulder together we can increase the bounty of all.

CHAPTER 2

THE PRESIDENT WORKS WITH HIS STAFF AND CABINET

As you read, think about the following questions:

1. What is the relationship between the President and his staff?
2. What services do the members of the Presidential staff perform?
3. How does the Presidential staff relate to the Cabinet? Give an example.
4. What are some of the duties of the Cabinet?
5. On what grounds does a President choose his Cabinet?
6. Compare the influence of Henry Kissinger, National Security Advisor on Nixon's staff and William Rogers, Secretary of State in President Nixon's Cabinet.

THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF

The White House staff is a recent development. Before William McKinley's administration in 1897, Presidents had personal or private secretaries, but they were not recognized as officials. Abraham Lincoln handled White House correspondence with the help of three clerks. Grover Cleveland answered his own telephone and wrote most of his papers in long-hand. President Taft in 1909 had the assistance of twenty-five clerks and stenographers.

From William McKinley's administration until the close of Herbert Hoover's term in 1932, one man, Ira Smith, was able to take care of all the mail that came to the White House. Calvin Coolidge used to sit on the corner of Smith's desk while Smith slit the envelopes and passed him his letters. Before Smith retired in 1948, after fifty-one years of service, he had a staff of fifty clerks to help him with the mail. For twelve years under Franklin D. Roosevelt, an average of 5,000 letters were delivered to the White House each day. On one occasion as many as 175,000 letters were delivered on a single day.

The great expansion of the offices of the President under Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal in 1933 led to the growth of the White House staff into a powerful instrument

of government. In the strict sense of the word, the President alone has power and his aides only advise the President and execute his wishes. But as a practical matter, leading Presidential assistants do have considerable power even though the President always has the final word.

In the past, the members of the President's Cabinet have received most of his delegated* authority. Recent Presidents, however, have increasingly delegated authority to their most favored White House assistants on their staff until several of those assistants have become more important and powerful than some Cabinet members.

Cabinet members are still often chosen for political reasons--to repay a campaign debt, to please a religious or ethnic group--and they may or may not be men the President knows, likes or trusts. It has often been true that Presidents faced with complex issues on which they must make crucial decisions, have relied more heavily upon the judgment of their hand-picked personal aids than on their Cabinet executives. The trend of the past thirty-five years is toward increased use of the White House staff to oversee the agencies and departments of government.

Some White House assistants have often more influence on major foreign and domestic policies than the leaders of Congress or the leaders of the two major political parties. Two of the best known Presidential assistants of this centry have been Colonel E. M. House, who advised Woodrow Wilson, and Harry Hopkins, who was a trusted advisor of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

In today's fast moving world the role of outside advisors has been reduced in importance. The President's advisors have the advantage of having access to all the confidential intelligence information and they can dig in deeply into the facts and figures that a hard-pressed modern president needs. That accounts for the influence such Presidential advisors as Walt Rostow had with President Johnson or Dr. Henry Kissinger had on the White House staff of President Nixon.

CONFLICT BETWEEN STAFF AND CABINET

During a period in the Nixon administration many observers have asked, "Who was the real Secretary of State--Henry Kissinger or William Rogers?" This question

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*delegated--one given power to act for another

has been asked often in the course of our nation's history.

In Franklin D. Roosevelt's Presidency great antagonisms developed between White House advisor Harry Hopkins, Under Secretary Sumner Welles, and Secretary of State Cordell Hull. In John Kennedy's administration it appeared that he was his own Secretary of State although Dean Rusk held the title.

Henry Kissinger, national security advisor on President Nixon's staff, has been generally regarded in Washington as the principal foreign policy advisor and spokesman and not William Rogers, the Secretary of State. Kissinger, at Nixon's request, usually does the briefing to newsmen on the direction of United States policy. Diplomats and newsmen have begun to go more and more to the White House rather than the State Department for serious foreign policy talks.

Kissinger's main job is to define and present policy options for Nixon's decision and there are times when Nixon asks his advice and that is when the Kissinger influence is exercised.

Kissinger's office is just a few steps down the hall from the President's while Rogers' office is three-quarters of a mile away. The difference in proximity is most definitely an advantage. President Nixon probably sees more of Kissinger during the course of a day than of any other top-rank advisor.

Rogers remains a close personal friend of the President, generally talks to him a couple of times a day, and sees him several times during the week. Nixon consults him in both domestic and foreign concerns. Rogers' relationship with the President, however, has been private and less visible than Kissinger's.

NATURE OF THE CABINET

Cabinet members serve at the pleasure of the President. The Constitution does not specifically provide for a Cabinet so they do not share with the President the responsibility for policies and decisions on major policy questions. Since the President must work closely with members of his Cabinet, it is important that they get along well together. Woodrow Wilson sought, in general, men who shared his ideas and philosophy. Normally, the Cabinet includes one or two men whose position with Congress is especially strong, one who specializes in the management of party affairs and some representing important religious groups and geographical areas. A President does not have to choose party leaders or men who are widely known and respected for their

competence or for their views on public affairs. It is not always the practice to appoint a man who is an expert in the activities for which he will be responsible. In some cases, it is enough that the appointment is acceptable to key interest groups.

President Washington established the tradition of meeting with these officials as a group, thus creating the Cabinet. Constitutionally, however, a President is not bound to consult his Cabinet. During the Civil War, Lincoln did not meet very often with his Cabinet. Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson both regarded their Cabinet members as administrators rather than policy advisors. Wilson did not even read his war message first to his Cabinet because he did not want to subject its language to review and discussion.

Franklin Roosevelt began his first term of office by using his Cabinet systematically but in his later terms the meetings did not amount to much. President Truman held weekly Cabinet meetings and had the agenda distributed in advance of the meetings. President Eisenhower started the practice of having a Cabinet Secretary so that Cabinet members could submit items for inclusion in the agenda. The secretary then circulated the agenda to several interested officials in various departments for screening of minor problems and for the preparation of a memorandum on major problems. These memoranda often presented alternatives and recommendations so that the presentation at the Cabinet meeting would be as concise as possible. More than the Presidents before him Eisenhower used Cabinet meetings to get a collective judgment of his major advisors.

LOYALTY OF CABINET MEMBERS TO PRESIDENT: KENNEDY AND KENNEDY

John F. Kennedy had a rather close relationship with most of the members of his Cabinet and especially with his younger brother, Robert, whom he appointed as Attorney General. Robert Kennedy had master-minded J. F. Kennedy's campaign for the Presidency and was completely loyal to his brother. The brothers seemed to have an extrasensory communications system with each other. Robert Kennedy rarely had to consult Jack when confronted with a difficult decision but acted quickly and instinctively. He looked after President Kennedy's affairs while Attorney General, helping with Cabinet selections, looking at patronage prospects and mending rifts in the Democratic organization. Between the two brothers there was complete confidence. Rarely in history, if ever, has there been a closer working relationship between a Cabinet member and the President.

NIXON AND HICKEL: CONFLICT IN LOYALTY

In contrast to the Kennedy-Kennedy relationship, there was a conflict in loyalty to the administration in the case of President Richard Nixon and Walter J. Hickel, Interior Secretary.

Hickel, an Alaskan, was not confirmed by the Senate until two days after his appointment because many people felt he was concerned enough about pollution and conservation. While his record in office was a good one, Hickel found himself increasingly in disagreement with some of the policies of the President.

He became the first Cabinet official to be openly fired since Harry Truman dumped Attorney General J. Howard McGrath during the tax scandals in 1952.

Responding to widespread protests against the Vietnam War, Hickel had written a letter to Nixon implying that the administration might "set out consciously to alienate" young people. He also ridiculed Vice-President Spiro Agnew's campaign methods and, to top things off, Hickel ran the Interior Department without consulting with President Nixon's domestic advisors. Although Hickel was praised by conservationists as the most effective Interior Secretary in history and also served as a bridge to the nation's youthful dissidents, it did not really matter in the administration's eyes. "In this business," said a White House staff man, "you're either loyal or you get out--you don't run your own show."

NIXON-FINCH: LOYALTY PAYS OFF

Robert Finch appointed by President Nixon as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare had trouble coping with this position. He was unable to administer efficiently the vast bureaucracy of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. In 1970, Nixon transferred Finch to a position as a White House Staff Counselor to the President. Finch, it was felt, being a close personal friend of Nixon's could better serve his country and his President in this capacity. Actually Nixon was offering his old friend a way out of the burden of his office that had put Finch into the hospital. Finch was relieved of a management job that he did not enjoy and moved to an independent inside role where, interestingly enough, he might be considered more influential with the President.

US CONGRESS
CHIEF ENGR
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
US SENATE
MBAILEY

CHAPTER 3

THE PRESIDENT WORKS WITH CONGRESS

Use the following questions as a guide to your reading:

1. What does the term "Chief Legislator" mean to you?
2. Explain what it means to initiate legislative measures.
3. Discuss the various reasons for success and failure in the relationship between the President and Congress. Use examples.
4. What could happen if the President or Congress ever pushed the use of its Constitutional powers to their very limit?

Chief Legislator

The President is involved, by the Constitution and by custom, with the legislative process. He is considered to be the "Chief Legislator". He is required to report to the Congress on the state of the Union, approve bills before they become laws, and to call Congress into special session. He also presents the annual budget to Congress.

The President takes the lead in initiating legislative measures and assumes the responsibility for facilitating their passage through the stages of the law-making process. Because he is the only official elected by the nation-at-large, he feels a duty to propose and support programs vital to the interests of the majority of Americans. Since the members of Congress are elected from various constituencies or areas of the country and are subjected to particular pressures, the President sometimes must battle for his legislation. The refusal or inability of the President to lead in this manner can result in a weak or confused central government.

Success in the relationship between the President and Congress depends on several factors:

1. The political complexion of the President and Congress - that is, whether or not the President's party is in the majority in Congress.
2. The state of the Union and the World.

3. Mood of Congress--whether they are friendly or rebellious toward the President.

4. Presidential leadership.

STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

President George Washington started the precedent for addressing Congress, but Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States, decided that a Presidential address to Congress resembled the Royal Speech from the throne that opens a session of the British Parliament and refused to address Congress personally. Instead he sent written communications.

President Woodrow Wilson in 1913 re-established the practice of addressing Congress in person with his "State of the Union" message and this has been the practice of Presidents since that time.

BUDGET

Until 1921, each executive department separately presented its budgetary requests to Congress and the legislature compiled the annual budget. Until Franklin D. Roosevelt moved into the White House, most major pieces of legislation were drafted in Congress, though often in response to a Presidential request.

Congress still has enormous authority over the legislative process. The President, however, has the power of legislative initiative if he chooses to use it. For example, all bills submitted by government agencies to Congress have to be approved by the Bureau of the Budget, which is in the Executive Office of the President. The Bureau of the Budget then prepared the final report including all agencies to be submitted to Congress.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

The President can also conduct vigorous direct and indirect campaigns on behalf of his proposals. He can ask Congress directly to pass measures; he can exert pressures on influential Congressmen; he can make statements at press conferences and use the mass media to appeal to the people or appeal to the people directly as Woodrow Wilson attempted when he took his "fight to the people" in the case of the League of Nations.

NEED FOR COOPERATION

In order for our country to prosper there needs to be good cooperation between the President and Congress. Such cooperation necessitates frequent compromises on both sides.

Under our system of government of checks and balances neither the President nor Congress ever pushed the use of their Constitutional powers to their very limit. If that ever happened, a stalemate would result. Both the President and Congress know that their relationship is based on the acceptance of compromises. All understand that for our country to prosper, no branch can push its power to the limit.

For example, what would happen if Congress refused to pay the President--or if the President refused to execute a bill passed by Congress over his veto?

Our system does not allow these things to happen. It would be a tragedy for the United States.

PRESIDENTIAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH CONGRESS

LINCOLN: RAPPORT WITH CONGRESS

Sometimes a President must act and then ask Congress to legalize his action. This happened in April 1861, at the beginning of the Civil War, without Constitutional sanction, President Lincoln called for 42,000 volunteers for national service for three years and authorized an increase of 23,000 in the regular army. When Congress met in July, 1861, it legalized the President's acts and at his recommendation, provided for enlisting 500,000 volunteers to serve for three years.

When it seemed that there was a great danger from the sympathizers of the Confederacy, President Lincoln suspended the writ of habeas corpus and thousands of suspects were jailed. Later Congress gave the President the right to suspend the writ of habeas corpus which traditionally is a prerogative of Congress.

ANDREW JOHNSON: IMPEACHMENT

After the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln, a severe conflict developed between President Andrew Johnson and Congress on the question of "Who was to be responsible for the reconstruction of the Union, the President or Congress?"

Johnson asserted that the restoration of the ex-Confederate states to the Union

was his responsibility, while the majority in Congress maintained that since the states have state governments in conformance with the Constitution, it was Congress which must decide the procedures for the restoration of the Union. President Johnson proceeded with reconstruction by issuing a series of executive orders. The Republicans, who had an overwhelming majority in Congress, proceeded to stop the President by starting the procedure for the impeachment of the President. Under the laws prescribed in the Constitution, the House of Representatives impeached (or indicted) the President. One of the specific charges in the impeachment articles referred to a violation of a law poassed by Congress. The law which passed over the President's veto was called the Tenure of Office Act. This law provided that the President could not remove any member of his Cabinet without the consent of the Senate. Johnson vetoed the bill stating that it violated the Constitution. The President then defied Congress and dismissed Secretary of War Stanton.

The impeachment articles were presented to the Senate which under the Constitution acts as a court and must either convict or acquit the President by a two-thirds majority. After a long and dramatic trial, the Senate acquitted the President. The tally was one vote short of the needed two-thirds majority.

WILSON: NO COMPROMISE

President Woodrow Wilson at the end of World War I, angered the members of the Senate by failing to talk to them about his plans for peace and by failing to ask their advice in choosing men to go to Paris with him for the peace negotiations. He would not even consider taking with him Henry Cabot Lodge, the powerful chairman-designate of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Wilson also failed to ask even one or any of the other prominent Republican leaders to join the official United States delegation. He chose instead in his delegation, Secretary of State Lansing, Colonel House, a personal advisor, General Tasker H. Bliss, a military expert and Henry White, a career diplomat. This angered the Republican leaders because not one of their number was included.

Wilson, a Democrat, intended that his delegation be under his domination. Any advantage this control gave him during negotiations was eventually lost by the disadvantages that came about in slighting the Republicans. Wilson later regretted ignoring the opposition party in this way.

By the time the Treaty of Versailles reached the United States Senate in July, 1919, the opposition was ready. In the Senate, the opponents were divided into two groups--the "irreconcilables" who were determined to fight against acceptance of the document under any conditions and the "reservationists" led by Henry Cabot Lodge who favored participation in the League of Nations provided certain "reservations" were agreed to which would protect American interests.

Wilson refused to compromise on an issue he considered a matter of personal and national principle. If Wilson would have compromised with the "reservationists" evidence indicates that the Treaty with reservations would have been ratified, but he would not compromise and the Treaty was not ratified. Therefore, the United States did not join the League of Nations, a step which Wilson desperately desired.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: NEW DEAL

Because of the "Great Depression" in this country, emergency measures were necessary in 1933. Immediately after Roosevelt's Inauguration he declared a national bank holiday and called Congress into special session. When Congress convened on March 8, 1933, it received at once a special message on the banking crisis and a draft of emergency banking legislation. In less than eight hours, the House and Senate had passed the bill which was a record breaking time for legislation to be passed. Then Roosevelt sent a bill calling for the reduction of government expenses and an amendment of the Volstead Act to legalize light wines and beers. These bills also had prompt enactment.

In the words of Walter Lippman, "...the country was in such a state of confused desperation that it would have followed almost any leader anywhere he chose to go..." During the Hundred Days after March 4, 1933 (Inauguration Day) Roosevelt sent fifteen messages to Congress and saw fifteen major bills passed.

The Congressional election of 1934 increased the Democratic Administration's strength in both the House and the Senate, and only seven states had Republican Governors. The Congressional session of 1935 had top-heavy Democratic majorities in both houses.

Because of a change in national mood between 1933 and 1935, Roosevelt changed his ideas and approach in Congress. The result was a program of legislative achievement surpassed only by the Hundred Days itself. The First New Deal had tried to invent

new institutions to do what competition had once done to keep the economy in balance. The Second New Deal revived the idea of a freely competitive market through rigorous government enforcement of the rules of the competitive game.

Roosevelt in 1937, was having his difficulties with the Supreme Court which had found some of the New Deal legislation unconstitutional so he sent a message to Congress calling for a reorganization of the federal judiciary.* The proposal set in motion a bitter national debate. However, before any decision was made, the Supreme Court changed its attitude toward New Deal legislation so the way was made clear for his programs.

The recession of 1937-38 and the drift toward war in Europe killed Roosevelt's hope of attaining full economic recovery before the end of his second term. Due to the war, the emphasis had to be changed from domestic to foreign policy.

"GIVE THEM HELL" HARRY

Within the Eightieth Congress, there was a resurgence of conservatism led by Senator Robert Taft, son of a former President. The Eightieth Congress ignored Democratic President Truman's legislative recommendations and passed bills including the Taft-Hartley bill in 1947 and a major tax reduction in 1948, over his veto.

In his message of February, 1948, Truman made the proposals of a permanent commission on civil rights, antilynching and antipoll tax laws and a strengthening of civil rights statutes and enforcement machinery part of his executive program. This was Truman's boldest venture in the domestic field and aroused bitter controversy. The Civil Rights Proposals alienated the Conservative Democrats of the South, but brought the enthusiastic support of Northern Liberals.

In the 1948 Presidential Elections, Truman campaigned across the country, telling his audiences that the record of the "do-nothing, good-for-nothing" Republican Eightieth Congress proved the worthlessness of Republican campaign promises.

Although Truman won the election, he still had his frustrations with Congress. He saw his victory as a mandate for liberalism and called for a "fair deal"--"that our economic system should rest on a democratic foundation and that wealth should be created for the benefit of all."

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*judiciary - court system.

28

The "Fair Deal" aroused fierce opposition. Congress refused to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act and rejected Truman's requests for federal aid to education and middle-income housing.

Truman was able, however, through executive action, to abolish segregation within the government and armed services.

Congress turned down the more spectacular "Fair Deal" proposals. But it did pass a low-income housing act in 1949, improved the social security system, increased the minimum wage, extended the soil conservation program and enlarged the federal effort in public power, flood control, reclamation and rural electrification.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON: PRODUCTIVE CONGRESS

President Lyndon Johnson, running for reelection in 1964, made the slogan of the "Great Society" the central issue in his campaign. The President proposed a long list of laws intended to wipe out poverty and racial discrimination in the United States.

The Johnson-Humphrey ticket won 61.1 per cent of the popular vote and carried all but six states--the most decisive Presidential triumph since 1936. Fortified by this landslide, the 89th Congress of 1965-66, though it faltered toward the end, was the most productive Congress since the days of the early New Deal.

KENNEDY & JOHNSON: RELATIONS BETWEEN THE WHITE HOUSE AND CAPITOL HILL

Lawrence F. O'Brien, a special assistant to the President for Congressional affairs in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations described in a television interview the means employed by the White House to attain its legislative program. It includes some insights into the planning and organization to develop an effective relationship with Congress. This interview is excerpted below:

> Q. (Mr. Paul Duka, National Broadcasting Company) Larry, how do you see the function and scope of the White House liaison?
>
> A. (Mr. O'Brien) Well, it's certainly developed into an important element... when you think back on the history of Congressional relations, the fact that to some extent it was not only non-existent White House-to-the-Hill in the days of Wilson and through a period following President Wilson, we had the sit-

uation of no rapport between the two branches of Government. They seemed to be at cross purposes, and in the era of Roosevelt, the first hundred days, of course, a massive legislative program was enacted. The situation at the moment called for it, and following that, however, after the so-called "court-packing" period, there was a slackening off again in this area. I think this went on to a considerable extent until a point in the Eisenhower Administration, where it was reformalized and put on a departmental level in the White House.

With us... it was a problem that we were faced with after the 1960 election, while we had secured the White House; nevertheless, we lost twenty-one seats. Solid voting Democrats had been defeated in the '60 election, and it was immediately apparent that we were going to have great difficulties. So we had to take a very close look at the type of operation we might put into effect, and what procedures we could follow. We were hard put to it--the realities of the situation were that the New Frontier Program was massive, and we were in a tight bind in the Congress, particularly in the House.

So my view now in the fifth legislative year I've been in the White House is that it has been awfully productive to us. It really made an impact on the program, and I think finally it has been determined that within the constitutional limitations, it is feasible and proper to have a close rapport with the Legislative Branch of Government; that this doesn't in any sense violate the constitutional provisions or the historic concept... of the relationship of the two branches. It's just that the human element is present, as it is in all activities in life, and the closer the relationship the better the understanding, the greater the possibilities of ultimate enactment of the White House proposals.

After all, we recognize that the President proposes, and it is up to the Legislative Branch of the Government to dispose. But certainly there is no known barrier to constantly advocating our program... to the people and to the Congress.

...obviously there has been real progress. ...it's developed into a two-way street up and down Pennsylvania Avenue. There's not any hesitancy I'm able to observe on the part of the Members of the House or the Senate to contact the White House to discuss matters of mutual interest, nor is there any hesitancy on our part to do the same....

Q. You mentioned the formalization of the liaison office under President Kennedy.... How did he come to set up a liaison chief with one man delegated for the House and one man delegated for the Senate under you?

A. There were discussions involving Professor Dick Neustadt and others. I think, however, that the President's judgment to a great extent, as I indicated, was based--on the political reality of the situation--that we had a difficult situation ahead of us and just what conceivably could be done about it....

Q. Well, with a limited staff and more than 500 members, how can you keep up with your job?

A. ...there are Congressional liaison chiefs in each department and agency of Government. ...we had to unify this activity, we had to centralize it in the sense that it would be a team effort and we inaugurated a new procedure. And that is that each department and agency would provide to us by Monday noon of each week a written report of the department's activity with the Congress over the prior week and the projection for the current week.

Now, we take those reports and review them on Monday afternoon and present an analysis to the President for his night reading on Monday, along with a suggested agenda for his use, if he so desires, of the leadership meetings that are held on Tuesday mornings.

In addition, we have these Congressional relations people--there are about forty of them--they're in these key roles in departments and agencies--in periodically to the White House to discuss our mutual legislative problems. And the emphasis constantly is on the President's program, that all elements of this program really in the final analysis are part of a single program...the only man I'm aware of who's been elected to office is the President of the United States. And he has proposed to the people what he conceives his program to be. The people made a determination that he should be their President....

So by establishing this team and working very closely with these people in the departments and agencies, it gave us additional manpower, and it insured that our activities would be properly channeled for maximum results, and we would not have cross-wires and individuals going off in separate directions and working with Congress.

Now, President Johnson has emphasized and re-emphasized this, as you know, and on many occasions at Cabinet meetings he re-states his concern about the progress of his program, the Great Society program: his intention that every member of the Executive Branch be involved, the responsibility of the Cabinet member in this area.

...Nothing has a greater priority in the President's view than the legislative program...

I think that we can continue to make progress in...our relationships with the Congress if we never lose sight of one important factor...that there are on the Hill 535 elected officials. They have been elected by the people; they have been in the ballot box, so to speak.... The decision is made on the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue, and we recognize and respect it....

Q. Why is the Administration's help needed to get most major legislation through these days?

A. Why, I think that over these five years you have to go back again to a strong President who exerts leadership, who was willing to step out and propose, who was willing to put the weight of his office behind the proposals, who was at all times attempting to encourage the average citizen to join with him....the President, after all, gets the attention of the people to a far greater extent than any other leader, and they are interested in his views. They will listen to him. He commands massive audiences on television and radio, and public appearances. And I think that it's an important element in legislative success, the success of the program, to have a President not only advocating initially, but constantly reminding everyone of the program and its meaning, and giving proof positive that he is not only proposing, but he is vitally concerned personally.

I think the difference between initiating on the Hill and initiating here is obvious, because the initiation by the President makes for greater impact, greater citizen interest, and consequently, I think ultimately, closer attention on the Hill....

"Big Chief of U. S."

33

CHAPTER 4

THE PRESIDENT AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF

Constitutional Provision

Following the American Revolution the American people were against a strong Presidency. The Revolution had come about, in part, due to dissatisfaction with the authority of the King of England. The Americans did not want a President with strong powers. The Articles of Confederation were adopted by the newly independent colonies in 1781 as the basis for a system of government. The Articles proved unsatisfactory for governing because of the loose relationship between the states and the absence of an executive branch.

In February of 1787 the Congress called for a Constitutional convention that would make the government workable. The delegates met in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787. They were convinced that a separate executive department with definite powers should be established.

The framers of the Constitution were in the happy position of knowing that George Washington would be the first President. The Constitution carefully stated how the President was to carry out his duties, but it did not define what his duties were. Ever since this time Presidents and Congresses have been trying to define the duties of the executive.

The United States Constitution gives Congress the power to declare war. It gives the President the power as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces to conduct war and to use American troops in emergencies. The Constitution does not state what it considers an emergency.

Some examples of how Presidents have acted as Commander-in-Chief follow:

As you read, try to answer the following questions:

1. Which United States Presidents started wars without Congressional approval?

2. Where does the President get his powers to commit U.S. troops to armed conflicts?

3. Do you think the President should have the power to commit United States'

troops overseas without the consent of Congress?

4. If yes, under what conditions?

5. How can the principle of civilian control over the military be maintained?

JEFFERSON AND THE BARBARY PIRATES

During the years of the Articles of Confederation (1781-1789), the Barbary Pirates from Algiers, Morocco, Tripoli, and Tunis seized American ships and sailors in the Mediterranean. The Congress did not have the power to stop the pirates. Presidents Washington and Adams had paid money to Algiers, Tripoli, Tunis, and Morocco to keep the pirates from interfering with American shippers.

Soon after President Jefferson took office, the Pasha* of Tripoli had the flag on the American consulate taken down. The Pasha felt that his country was not receiving its fair share of the money.

Using his powers as Commander-in-Chief, President Jefferson sent American warships to the Mediterranean Sea. After much fighting, the United States obtained a treaty from Tripoli.

POLK AND THE WAR WITH MEXICO

President Polk entered office in 1845. He believed that America was destined to stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Texas and California were at that time

*Pasha - the head governing official of Tripoli

the property of Mexico. President Polk decided to seek a way to make Texas and California a part of the United States.

The President followed the dispute which developed between Texas (which declared itself to be an independent state) and Mexico with keen interest. The dispute revolved around the boundaries of the State of Texas. The Mexicans argued that the boundary demanded by Texas at the Rio Grande included Mexican territory.

In November, 1845 the President sent John Slidell to Mexico to settle the boundary dispute. The Mexican government decided to negotiate only with Texas and refused to talk with Slidell and made war-like statements toward the United States.

Before President Polk sent Slidell to Mexico, he ordered General Zachary Taylor and a small number of soliders to Texas to protect it against a possible Mexican attack. General Taylor made camp on the disputed territory. Meanwhile the American Navy began moving ships toward Mexico. The United States government also encouraged Americans living in California, which was a province of Mexico, to revolt against the Mexicans.

On May 8, 1845 news arrived that General Taylor's troops, which were camped on the disputed territory, had been defeated in a battle with the Mexicans. Claiming aggression by Mexico, President Polk asked the Congress for a declaration of war. In his war message, the President neglected to state that the territory on which the battle occurred was disputed. In Congress, many Congressmen, including Representative Abraham Lincoln accused the United States Army of aggressions against the Mexicans.

The Mexican War effort was hampered by President Polk's fear that General Taylor and General Winfield Scott would benefit politically from military victories. The President wanted the generals, who were Whigs,* to win battles but he did not want them to become national heroes. At one point in the war, using his powers as Commander-in-Chief, Polk wanted to relieve Taylor of his command, but public opinion would not allow him to do this. Fearing for his popularity, President Polk desisted. The Mexican War was won by the United States and California and eventually Texas became part of the United States.

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*Whigs - members of the opposing political party. Polk was a Democrat.

LINCOLN AND DOMESTIC WAR POLICIES

President Lincoln, acting as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, performed acts that many thought were unconstitutional. He felt the need for strong action and he cut deeply into the accepted civil liberties of the people of the Union.

Among these were the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus and the taking away of freedom of speech and writing. In 1861 Lincoln felt that the majority of the Maryland legislature would vote for secession, and he therefore had several members arrested. The charge was one of plotting treason. The legislators were imprisoned without the benefit of habeas corpus. The Supreme Court ruled that the legislators had committed no crime, but the President ignored this ruling.

TRUMAN AND THE KOREAN WAR

On June 25, 1950 the North Koreans invaded South Korea. The North Korean troops who had been armed and trained by the Russians and Red Chinese, captured the South Korean capital of Seoul.

The United States called for an emergency meeting of the Security Council of the United Nations. The Security Council (which the Russians were boycotting) authorized the United States to act for the United Nations.

President Truman ordered American troops to South Korea to assist in repelling the communists from the North. Two days later, President Truman informed the Congress of his decision, calling it a "police action." He did not request a declaration of war or even approval by Congress for his actions.

Many senators expressed grave doubts about the legality of President Truman's decision, which in fact made the United States a war belligerent. They expressed fears that if the President could put America in war in South Korea, he could do it anywhere in the world. But the great majority in Congress did not contest the President's course and gave the war full support.

TRUMAN AND MAC ARTHUR

During the first few months of the Korean War, Douglas MacArthur, the Commander in Chief of U.S. forces in Korea, and the Truman Administration were in disagreement over the conduct of the war. General MacArthur believed the United States should have blockaded mainland China. He also wanted the United States to assist Chiang Kai-Shek, the ruler of Nationalist China, invade the mainland of China from Formosa and to bomb Manchuria.

The General and his supporters held that total victory was necessary. President Truman, with the support of the majority in Congress, opposed these measures. He argued that the actions demanded by General MacArthur would involved the United States in a war with China and may even lead to World War III.

When General MacArthur became openly critical of the President's conduct of the war, in April, 1951, President Truman relieved General MacArthur of his command on the grounds of insubordination.

President Harry S. Truman

General Douglas MacArthur

MESSAGE RELIEVING GENERAL MAC ARTHUR OF COMMAND, APRIL 10, 1951

"I deeply regret that it becomes my duty as President and Commander in Chief of the United States military forces to replace you as Supreme Commander, Allied Powers; Commander in Chief, United Nations Command; Commander in Chief, Far East; and Commanding General, United States Army, Far East.

You will turn over your commands, effective at once, to Lt. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway. You are authorized to have issued such orders as are necessary to complete desired travel to such place as you select.

My reasons for your replacement will be made public concurrently with the delivery to you of the foregoing order, and are contained in the following message."

STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT RELATIVE TO THE DISMISSAL OF GENERAL MAC ARTHUR, APRIL 10, 1951

"With deep regret I have concluded that General of the Army, Douglas MacArthur, is unable to give his wholehearted support to the policies of the United States Government and of the United Nations in matters pertaining to his official duties. In view of the specific responsibilities imposed upon me by the Constitution of the United States and the added responsibility which has been entrusted to me by the United Nations, I have decided that I must make a change of command in the Far East. I have, therefore, relieved General MacArthur of his commands and designated Lt. Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway as his successor.

Full and vigorous debate on matters of national policy is a vital element in the constitutional system of our free democracy. It is fundamental, however, that military commanders must be governed by the policies and directives issued to them in the manner provided by our laws and Constitution. In time of crises, this consideration is particularly compelling.

General MacArthur's place in history as one of our greatest commanders is fully established. The Nation owes him a debt of gratitude for the distinguished and exceptional service which he has rendered his country in post of great responsibility. For that reason I repeat my regret at the necessity for the action I feel compelled to take to his case."

JOHNSON AND VIETNAM

Vietnam had been conquered by the Japanese during the war. It had been under French rule at the outbreak of World War II. During World War II an independence movement was begun in Vietnam. After World War II, the Vietnamese were engaged in a war of independence against France. Due to its high cost and lack of support at home, and because of the valor and determination of the Vietnamese, the French Government was finally forced to end their involvement in the war. The French evacuated their forces from Vietnam.

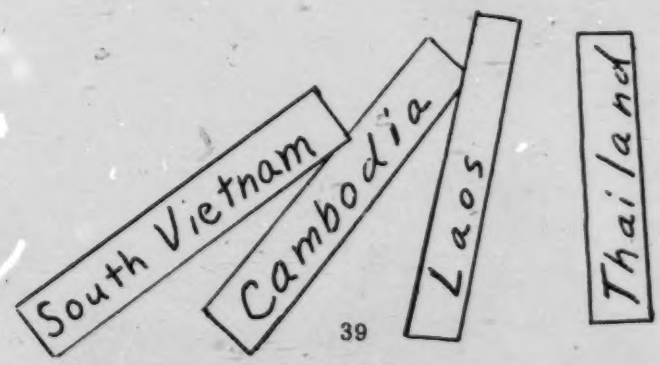
In 1954 several nations met in Geneva, Switzerland to decide the fate of Vietnam. This agreement (the so-called Geneva Accords) provided for a temporary division of Vietnam at the seventeenth parallel. The part of the independence movement that was communist was to administer the North. The non-communists were to rule in the South.

Elections were to be held in 1956, to unify Vietnam under one government. South Vietnam and the United States did not allow the election to take place. They argued that North Vietnam had violated the Geneva Accords by building up its military forces.

By the end of the Eisenhower administration in 1961, the United States sent a large number of military advisors in Vietnam. The main American objective seemed to make South Vietnam a strong, anti-communist nation in the Southeast Asia. The American government thought that an independent anti-Communist South Vietnam would help prevent Red China from expanding its influence in Asia.

The theory was that if one of these small nations of Indonesia fell to Communism, the others like Laos, Thailand and Cambodia would soon follow. The theory became known as the "domino theory."

DOMINO THEORY



THE VIETNAM CRISIS

On August 2, 1964, President Johnson reported to Congress that the United States destroyer Maddox was attacked by North Vietnam boats off the coast of North Vietnam in the Gulf of Tonkin. The attack was repelled. Two nights later a second attack came, and with the aid of American jets, the attack was again repelled.

On August 4, President Johnson ordered massive air attacks on North Vietnam in retaliation. The President felt that the attack on American ships justified his action. After he had ordered the bombings, the President asked for and received the support of Congress for his actions on the form of the so-called Tonkin Gulf resolution which authorized the President to take any military actions he deemed necessary against North Vietnam.

Before President Johnson left the White House, he was being widely condemned for taking this action. Many Senators were charging him with unconstitutional use of his powers as Commander-in-Chief.

Locate the following on this map:

The Gulf of Tonkin

The Seventeenth Parallel

Hanoi, Capitol of North Vietnam

Saigon, Capitol of South Vietnam

41

SHOULD THE SENATE CUT THE WAR POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT?

The United States Constitution gives Congress the power to declare war and the President the right to conduct war.

Between World War II and the Vietnamese War, Congress had pretty much presented the President a blank check with regard to military intervention. The Formosa Resolution of 1955 authorized the President to use whatever forces he thought necessary to protect Nationalist China.

In 195[illegible], Congress passed a law which gave the President authority to use armed forces in the Middle East if Communist aggression were present.

President Kennedy was authorized by the Congress to use whatever power at his disposal in 1962 to prevent the Russian buildup of nuclear missiles in Cuba. This authorization included the use of nuclear weapons if necessary.

In today's international situation a threat to peace can come without much warning. This situation, it is argued by some, makes it necessary for the President to use American forces without Congressional approval. Many leaders in Congress argue that the war-making powers of the President must be limited and that a procedure must be found which would enable Congress to make the final decision on war declarations as provided in the Constitution.

SUGGESTED CHANGES

We have seen that time and again, in spite of the priorism in the Constitution, which gives the power to declare war to Congress, Presidents have by their actions caused the U. S. to be at war. The last war declared by Congress was World War II in 1941 after Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, an American naval base in Hawaii. After the war the United States emerged victorious. Since that time over 100,000 American lives were lost in undeclared wars.

On several occasions, attempts were made in the Senate to limit the power of the Presidents to wage war. In 1971 Senators Javits of New York, Eagleton of Missouri, and Stennis of Mississippi introduced separate resolutions that would give back to Congress the power to declare war. With certain exceptions these resolutions would prohibit the President from using armed services in any future conflicts without prior congressional approval. Basically these proposals would allow the President to

commit American troops up to thirty days. If a large action was needed the question must come before Congress.

The President could, on his own, order an attack if the United States were attacked. He could use the armed forces if a nuclear attack were coming; if American citizens in foreign countries were in danger, he could have them evacuated.

EXECUTIVE RESPONSE TO THE PROPOSALS

Secretary of State William P. Rogers, speaking for President Nixon, opposed all three of the bills introduced into the Senate. He is against any law that would reduce the President's powers to use the armed forces. He warns that any law that removes these powers from the President raises the "grave risk of miscalculation by a potential enemy regarding the ability of the United States to act in a crisis." Undoubtedly, other Presidents, whether they be Democrats or Republicans, would oppose any limitations on the powers as Commanders in Chief. In the long run, in the tradition of the United States politics, a compromise on this issue will be reached between the President and Congress.

CHAPTER 5

PRESIDENTIAL DECISION-MAKING PROCESS: A CASE STUDY

THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

On Tuesday morning, October 16, 1962, the Central Intelligence Agency informed President John F. Kennedy that photographs taken by U-2 reconnaissance planes showed conclusively that the Soviet Union was placing missiles and atomic weapons in Cuba.

This was the beginning of the Cuban missile crisis, which while it lasted only thirteen days, was one of the most dangerous periods in the history of our nation. It highlighted the awesome responsibility of the President to protect and defend the security of the United States. The direct confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union has also provided an excellent insight into the decision-making process on the highest levels of government in Washington. It would indeed seem to be important to learn as much as possible about the way the President and the Federal Government act in a grave crisis and how they arrive at decisions which affect the lives of every American citizen.

It is difficult and probably inadvisable to formulate a general hypothesis about the decision-making process on major issues because the circumstances and the variables differ greatly in each case, but it is possible to suggest some characteristics of this decision-making which may be unique to the American democratic process and traditions:

1. The President of the United States must personally deal with a major crisis because he has taken an oath when he took his office in which he stated: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States."
2. Upon the commencement of the crisis, the President consults with the National Security Council, members of the Cabinet, the White House staff, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the heads of the intelligence services and with distinguished citizens. All of these sources are asked to recommend a course of action.

3. From the very outset of a crisis the President provides full information and solicits advice from the leaders of Congress, from both major parties.

4. The President considers it his duty to use the means of television and radio to inform the American people of the grave issue that confronts the country.

5. The final decision and the final responsibility for action in a national emergency belongs to the President. This is indeed a grave and lonely responsibility.

At 11:45 on October 16, the President invited a number of high officials, including the Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, the Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the military heads of the armed forces, to hear the presentation by the Central Intelligence Agency. Experts from the agency presented photographs showing several missile bases being constructed in Cuba. The fields were clearly being prepared for surface-to-surface offensive ballistic missiles armed with atomic warheads, which would be capable of striking any place in the United States. Subsequent photographs showed that new sites had about thirty missiles already installed. These missiles had a thousand mile range and could be put in operation in a week's time. Estimates were that the missiles could kill within a few minutes eighty million Americans.

It was clear that immediate action was imperative. The missile threat had to be eliminated. The President asked his civilian and military advisors for recommendations. The Joint Chiefs of Staff favored what was called a surgical air strike, a massive air attack which would destroy the missile sites and the missiles. Secretary of Defense, McNamara and the President's brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, favored a naval quarantine or blockade of Cuba, which would prevent the Russians from bringing in more missiles and site equipment into Cuba.

The heads of the Air Force, the Army, the Navy and the Marine Corps, argued that a blockade would not destroy the bases and the missiles already in Cuba and that the Russians would extract a high price in Berlin or elsewhere for the removal of the missiles.

General Curtis Le May, the Air Force Chief of Staff, urged upon the President a swift and drastic military action. The air force, he argued, was ready to use its great power to destroy the Russian missile menace in Cuba and to provide an effective air cover for the invasion of the island. The President asked General Le May

to estimate what the Russian reaction would be to such an air attack. Le May assured him that the Russians would take the blow and not react. President Kennedy expressed his doubts and said:

> "They, no more than we, can let these things go by without doing something. They can't, after all their statements, permit us to take out their missiles, kill a lot of Russians, and do nothing. If they don't take action in Cuba, they certainly will in Berlin."

The President did agree that the United States cannot permit the Russians to place more missiles in Cuba or even to accept the fact that some missiles were already on the island, because such a retreat may well embolden the Soviet Union to invade Free West Berlin or commit aggression elsewhere.

General David M. Shoup, Commandant of the Marine Corps, sympathetically said: "You are in a pretty bad fix, Mr. President."

The debate highlighted the gravity and the complexity of the decision expected from the President.

Former Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, who was invited by the President to give his views, argued that it was the President's clear responsibility to protect the people of the United States by ordering invasion and an air attack on Cuba. The missiles had to be destroyed, Acheson said, if the free world were to continue to rely on the United States to protect its freedom.

Robert Kennedy stated that a blockade was preferable because it was more flexible. It gave the Russians a chance to retreat while an air attack would kill thousands of Cuban civilians and hundreds of Russian experts which may force the Soviets to retaliate, either in Cuba or in Western Europe, or start an atomic holocaust by a direct attack on the United States.

Slowly, the proposal for a naval and air blockade of Cuba gained the support of the majority of the advisory groups. The special committee which was appointed by the President to give a thorough review of the situation and to formulate the recommendations, reported that it had agreed on a blockade. When the recommendation was reported at the White House meeting, the President questioned the committee members at length and then ordered them to continue their deliberations.

Without much sleep or rest, the committee continued its work. Robert F. Kennedy later wrote about the state of mind of the members of his group:

"Each one of us was being asked to make a recommendation which would affect the future of all mankind, a recommendation which, if wrong and if accepted, could mean the destruction of the human race. That kind of pressure does strange things to a human being, even to brilliant, self-confident, mature, experienced men. For some it brings out characteristics and strengths that perhaps even they never knew they had, and for others the pressure is too overwhelming."

Finally, after considering all alternatives, the committee decided to present to the President both the recommendation for an air strike and a blockade for his decision. The President convened the National Security Council to hear the view of the Committee. Advocates of the blockade and of the air strike argued fully their respective points of view while the President listened. He did not inform the assembled what his action would be. Leaders of Congress, and especially members of the armed services and foreign affairs committees of the Senate and the House were kept informed of the developments.

Later that afternoon, the President decided in favor of the blockade. The President told his advisors that two arguments influenced his decision. One was a statement from the Commander-in-Chief of the Tactical Air Command that even a major surprise air attack may not destroy all the missiles. The other was his conviction that an air attack would erode or destroy the moral position of the United States throughout the world.

Once having made up his mind, the President decided to go on television and give the people the complete history of the crisis and the steps being taken to cope with it.

Before his speech, the President invited a number of Congressional leaders to the White House, informed them of his decision and invited their comments. Some like Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, and J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, urged a stronger action than the President was contemplating. They were convinced that Congress and the country wanted a direct military action. The President explained that in his view the blockade was advisable as an initial step, because it could lead to a resolution of the crisis, while an air attack may bring catastrophic results. President Kennedy also informed the leaders of Congress that one hundred and eighty naval ships were deployed in the Caribbean, that the air force and carrier based planes patrolled the shores of Cuba, that 12,000 marines were ready

for invasion, that the Strategic Air Command planes were dispersed to civilian landing fields to prevent a possibility of attack and that the B-52 bombers were in the air, fully loaded with atomic weapons.

At seven in the evening, of the same day, the President spoke to the American people. He spoke soberly and candidly. He emphasized that he was determined to see to it that the Soviet Union withdraw the missiles or that they would be destroyed on the ground. He stated that the blockade was an initial step, and that the United States was prepared to take far more drastic actions. He expressed the hope that the Soviets would consider the consequences and avoid a confrontation.

President Kennedy wrote a letter to Chairman Nikita Krushchev of the Soviet Union, informing him of the blockade and urging him not to attempt to break the blockade by force, a step which the U. S. forces would resist. He concluded by saying:

> "I am concerned that we both show prudence and do nothing to allow events to make the situation more difficult to control than it is."

Several times during the next day when the United States waited for an answer from Krushchev, the President remarked to his aids that the greatest danger and risk in the whole crisis may come from miscalculation of the motives and intentions of the other side and from mistakes in judgment. He stated that the leaders of almost all major powers in Europe did not want a war in 1914. But the war came and became World War I, because the heads of states misread the intentions of their adversaries and did not carefully weigh the consequences of the political and military measures that they have taken. He was determined not to repeat these mistakes.

U. S. naval vessels received orders to disable any foreign vessel attempting to run through the blockade, but to spare the lives of the seamen as far as possible.

Reports received in the White House, which were published in the press, reported many Russian vessels sailing directly toward Cuba. The question was whether the Soviet government would order the captains of the vessels to attempt to break the blockade. At 10:00 o'clock in the evening of October 27, Secretary McNamara announced that two Russian ships, the Gagarin and the Komiles were within a few miles of the quarantine line. Robert Kennedy subsequently wrote that as this report, coupled with a sighting of a Soviet submarine was given to the President, his "face seemed drawn, his eyes pained, almost gray."

Suddenly, the room came alive when a report came in from the director of the

C.I.A. that twenty Soviet ships, closest to the blockade barrier, stopped dead in the water and some had even turned around. The Russians apparently decided not to attempt to run the blockade.

But aerial photographs showed that the work on the missile sites in Cuba was proceeding with great rapidity and that Soviet heavy bombers were being uncrated and assembled. Krushchev replied to the President's letter, accusing the United States of attempts to destroy the Castro regime and warned the U. S. navy not to interfere with the Soviet ships.

Disappointed with this answer, President Kennedy determined to show Krushchev that he would not retreat until the missiles were withdrawn. He ordered U.S. naval vessels to board and search a Panamanian-owned ship, but bound for Cuba under a Soviet charter. The ship was boarded, but since the search showed no military goods, it was allowed to proceed to Cuba.

The President once again appealed to Prime Minister Krushchev to remove the atomic threat, and in the meantime, gave orders to prepare for an invasion of Cuba and a massive air strike (with conventional weapons) on the missile sites. The people of the United States and of the world waited with baited breath for the next Soviet move. Finally, Krushchev's reply was received. The Soviet leader stated in an oblique way that if the U.S. would promise not to invade or blockade Cuba, the missiles would be removed. He warned that interference with Russian ships would mean a nuclear confrontation. Through a private contact, the Soviets stated, with greater clarity, that in return for a pledge to guarantee the sovereignty of Cuba under Fidel Castro, Russia would remove the missiles.

Another letter from Krushchev, dashed the optimistic hopes because it demanded, in addition to a pledge on Cuba, that the U.S. withdraw its missiles from Turkey. President Kennedy had some time to decide whether to take out the missiles from Turkey, but he refused to do so under the threat of a missile blackmail. The Joint Chiefs of Staff again recommended an air strike on the missile sites. The situation worsened considerably when a Soviet missile launched from a Cuban site, destroyed a U-2 obvservation plane and killed a pilot. The demands for an invasion of Cuba grew more insistent, but the President decided for one more try at diplomacy. He wrote again to Krushchev, and ignoring the demand for the withdrawal of the missiles from Turkey, demanded the forthwith withdrawal of the missiles from Cuba. In return, the President agreed: (a) to remove promptly the quarantine measures now in effect, and

(b) to give assurances against the invasion of Cuba. President Kennedy also assured the Russian leader that the United States would be ready, once the crisis passed, to negotiate other outstanding issues.

At 10:00 A.M. on Sunday, October 26th, a message from the Soviet Union arrived agreeing to the withdrawal of the missiles in return for the guarantee not to invade Cuba. This was the end of the Cuban missile crisis and the people of the U.S. and of the world sighed a sigh of relief. The specter of an atomic war was lifted. The Soviets promptly took the missiles out of Cuba.

The lessons from this ordeal in decision-making, within the framework of a democratic process, seem to point to the importance of having the President avail himself of thinking and the ideas and the recommendations of a limited, but a substantial and varied group of advisors. These must include military as well as civilian people, and experienced and wise men in and out of the government.

President Kennedy considered it very important for the United States in the hour of crisis to have the understanding and the support of its allies and friends. Robert F. Kennedy, in his book on the missile crisis, entitled, Thirteen Days--A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis, added one more lesson which he thought was worthwhile to remember. He stressed that President John Kennedy placed great importance on trying to understand the Soviet position. He was determined not to disgrace Chairman Krushchev or humiliate the Soviet Union, but acted to leave the Russians an avenue for a graceful retreat. At the same time, by mobilizing the offensive power and by ordering the blockade, he also made clear to Russia that the United States could not and would not allow its security to be jeopardized. It is this combination of patience, diplomacy and strength that averted a catastrophe.

In his famous speech at American University, given in June, 1963, President Kennedy said:

> "Above all, while defending our own vital interests, nuclear powers must avert those confrontations which bring an adversary to the choice of either a humiliating defeat or a nuclear war."

"PIED PIPER OF THE UNITED STATES"

CHAPTER 6

THE PRESIDENT AS LEADER OF THE NATION

As you read, try to answer the following questions:

1. How did President Jackson force South Carolina to accept the Tariffs of 1828 and 1832?
2. How did President Lincoln attempt to influence public opinion with his Second Inaugural Address?
3. What reforms did President Theodore Roosevelt advocate in his program of New Nationalism?
4. What reasons did Woodrow Wilson give when he stated that the President of the United States was one of the great powers of the world?
5. What evidence of moral leadership do you see in Franklin D. Roosevelt's First Inaugural Address and John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Address?
6. Contrast the attitude President Eisenhower took toward integration with that of President Kennedy.
7. How did President Kennedy condemn United States Steel's action? Why do you think he used this method?

PRESIDENT AS CHIEF OF STATE

The President is Chief of State. This means that he represents the United States in dealing with other heads of state or their ambassadors. The American people expect their President to represent the ideals and the might of the nation in his trips abroad or at many domestic functions like dedication of monuments, or speeches at conventions of big national organizations.

The President also proclaims special holidays, dedicates public works projects and gives out many kinds of medals of honor. In addition, he greets an endless procession of foreign dignitaries and other visitors to the White House. The President may be in Mobile, Alabama, one day dedicating a public building and in Seattle, Washington, the next, witnessing the swearing in of new United States citizens. He may be called on to proclaim National Cattle Producers Week and even receive the Maid of Cotton at the White House. These functions have an important benefit, because at each such function the President makes friends who may support him when he runs for reelection.

Look in your own newspaper this week and see how many times the President has acted as Chief of State.

Although the role of Chief of State may sound less important than that of Chief Executive or Commander in Chief, it is necessary for the President to play this role if he wants to stay in favor with the people. The President has the power of a Prime Minister and the dignity of a King combined in one office. That gives the American people a very powerful head of government.

PRESIDENT AS A LEADER OF PUBLIC OPINION

The President of the United States commands more attention than any other citizen. He can have the headlines of all newspapers any time he desires or he can speak to millions of Americans on television. He is the voice of the people. By virtue of the power and respect of his office he can influence public opinion. He can mold the views of the American people on many controversial issues, be it a problem of war and peace, abortion or civil rights.

Franklin D. Roosevelt had his own view of the job. Just a few days after his election he remarked:

"The Presidency is not merely an administrative office. That is the least of it. It is pre-eminently a place of moral leadership.

"All of our great Presidents were leaders of thought at times when certain historic ideas in the life of the nation had to be clarified. Washington personified the idea of Federal Union. Jefferson practically originated the party system as we know it by opposing the democratic theory to the Republicanism of Hamilton. This theory was maintained by Jackson.

"...Cleveland, coming into office following an era of political corruption, typified rugged honesty. Theodore Roosevelt and Wilson were both moral leaders, each in his own way and for his own time, who used the Presidency as a pulpit.*"

Some examples of how Presidents have acted as moral leaders follow:

JACKSON AND THE NULLIFIERS

In November, 1832, South Carolina called a convention to nullify* tariffs of 1828 and 1832. The tariffs had been passed to protect American industry from competition

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*pulpit - preaching their own ideas to the nation as a minister preaches to his congregation.

*nullify - to make ineffective or useless.

from England. The South was against the tariff, which it considered discriminatory. Many of the manufactured goods they used were made in England. An increase in tariff meant that Southerners would have to pay higher prices for their goods.

In nullifying the tariff South Carolina threatened to secede from the Union if the Federal Government enforced the tariff. In addition, South Carolina declared that it would leave the Union unless abolitionist propaganda in the North against slavery were not outlawed.

When Jackson heard of South Carolina's actions, he sent a warship and a fleet of revenue cutters to the Charleston harbor. He proclaimed South Carolina's plan of nullification "incompatible"* with the existence of the Union. Jackson further stated that "it [nullification] is inconsistent with every principle on which this country was founded, and destructive of the great objects for which it was planned."

A Southerner himself, Andrew Jackson rallied the country for the cause of the Union. He was ready to go to war on South Carolina to save the unity of the country. Forced with this position by the President, South Carolina rescinded the nullification ordinances and once a compromise on the tariff was reached, the controversy was settled.

LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

With the Civil War about to come to an end, President Lincoln looked ahead to the restoration of the Union. He looked forward to a time when sympathy and compassion would be extended to all victims of the war--both North and South. He wanted freedom for the slaves but no vengeance on the South.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN
1865
SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1865
Capitol Building, Washington, D.C.

At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declaration have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still obsorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well-known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonable satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

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*incompatible - not getting along well together

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war --seeking to dissolve the Union and divide effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish, and the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any man should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND THE NEW NATIONALISM

Theodore Roosevelt ran for office on a program of reform called the "New Nationalism." Excerpted below is a speech he gave on the subject:

"I stand for the Square Deal. But when I say that I am for the Square Deal, I mean not merely that I stand for fair play under the present rules of the game, but that I stand for having those rules changed so as to work for a more substantial opportunity and of reward for equally good service....

"Now this means that our government, national and state, must be freed from the sinister influence or control of special interest.... We must drive the special interest out of politics....

"...The New Nationalism puts the national need before the sectional or personal advantage. It is impatient of the utter confusion that results from local legislatures attempting to treat national issues as local issues. It is still more impatient of the impotence* which springs from overdivision of governmental powers, the impotence which makes it possible for local selfishness or for legal cunning, hired by wealthy special interest, to bring national activities to a deadlock. This New Nationalism regards the executive power as the steward of the public welfare....

"...We must have...a genuine and permanent moral awakening, without which no wisdom of legislation or administration really means anything...."

WILSON AND THE MORAL COMMITMENT TO THE WORLD

President Woodrow Wilson believed that the President had to be the "vital place of action." He believed that the American system could not operate without Presidential leadership molding public opinion.

Wilson extended his position of moral leadership past the borders of the United States. In 1908, he wrote:

"...the President can never again be the mere domestic figure he has been throughout so large a part of our history. The nation has risen to the first rank in power and resources. The other nations of the world look askance* upon her, half in envy, half in fear, and wonder with a deep anxiety what she will do with her vast strength.... Our President must always, henceforth, be one of the great powers of the world, whether he act greatly and wisely or not, and the best statesman we can produce will be needed to fill the office of the Secretary of State. We have but begun to see the Presidential office in this light; but it is the light which will more and more beat upon it, and more and more determine its character and its effect upon the politics of the nation...."

ROOSEVELT'S FIRST INAUGURAL

Franklin D. Roosevelt took over as President of a nation in crisis in 1933. The economy had almost collapsed. Thirteen million men were unemployed. Many banks

*impotence - lacking physical strength or vigor; powerless; ineffectual.

*askance - with suspicion.

closed their doors and the Wall Street crash of the stock market ruined millions of people.

Roosevelt felt that his first job was to relieve the American people of their feeling of helplessness. He offered encouragement and hope. This feeling of hope came through in his Inaugural Address. In this speech he scolded and sympathized, comforted and reassured the American people.

Parts of the Address are excerpted as follows:

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
1933-1937
FIRST INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1933
Capitol Steps, Washington, D.C.

I am certain that my fellow Americans expect that on my induction into the Presidency I will address them with a candor and a decision which the present situation of our Nation impels. This is preeminently the time to speak the truth, the whole truth, frankly and boldly. Nor need we shrink from honestly facing conditions in our country today. This great Nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper. So, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself--nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance. In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory. I am convinced that you will again give the support to leadership in these critical days.

The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.

Happiness lies not in the mere possession of money; it lies in the joy of achievement, in the thrill of creative effort. The joy and moral stimulation of work no longer must be forgotten in the mad chase of evanescent profits. These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men.

Recognition of the falsity of material wealth as the standard of success goes hand in hand with the abandonment of the false belief that public office and high political position are to be valued only by the standards of pride of place and personal profit; and there must be an end to a conduct in banking and in business which too often has given to a sacred trust the likeness of callous and selfish wrongdoing. Small wonder that confidence languishes, for it thrives only on honesty, on honor, on the sacredness of obligations, on faithful protection, on unselfish performance; without them it can not live.

Restoration calls, however, not for changes in ethics alone. This Nation asks for action, and action now.

Our greatest primary task is to put people to work. This is no unsolvable problem if we face it wisely and courageously. It can be accomplished in part by direct recruiting by the Government itself, treating the task as we would treat the emergency of a war, but at the same time, through this employment, accomplishing greatly needed projects to stimulate and reorganize the use of our natural resources.

KENNEDY'S INAUGURAL SPEECH

President John F. Kennedy projected an image of youthful vigor, self-confidence and personal appeal. He forthrightly accepted responsibility for moving America ahead.

He maintained this image throughout his administration until his tragic death.

In the final passage of his Inaugural Address he attacked self-interest and urged priority for national goals. His statement "ask not what your country can do for you--ask what you can do for your country" is now history.

The President went further and offered this challenge to the rest of the world.

"My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

"Finally, whether you are citizens of America or citizens of the world, ask of us here the same high standards of strength and sacrifice which we ask of you. With a good conscience our only sure reward, with history the final judge of our deeds, let us go forth to lead the land we love, asking His blessings and his help, but knowing that here on earth God's work must truly be our own."

In this climactic final passage the president attacked the self-centered people who put their personal interests above the interest of the nation.

EISENHOWER AND SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

The struggle to assure Negroes of their rights as Americans was taken to the courts during the Eisenhower administration. In 1954, the Supreme Court ruled that school segregation, by state law, was unconstitutional. President Dwight Eisenhower did not believe that it was the government's task to integrate schools. He stated that "it is difficult through law and through force to change a man's heart." However, when the Governor of Arkansas refused to obey the ruling of the Supreme Court, President Eisenhower declared that, under the Constitution, he was duty bound to enforce the "law of the land" and ordered federal tropps to force the admission of black children to an all white high school in Little Rock, Arkansas.

JOHN F. KENNEDY AND THE PROMISE TO THE AMERICAN NEGRO

In June, 1963, two Negro students were refused admittance to the University of Alabama because of their color. This was also in violation of the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

The students appealed the University's decision to the federal court. The court ordered that they be admitted.

Alabama's Governor, George C. Wallace, promised "to stand in the schoolhouse door" to keep them out. When federal marshalls escorted the two young Negroes to the door the Governor stepped aside.

That night President Kennedy discussed the Alabama situation with the American people in a radio and television address. Excerpts from his speech follow below:

"...Men of goodwill and generosity should be able to unite regardless of party or politics. This is not even a legal or legislative issue alone. It is better to settle these matters in the courts than on the streets, and new laws are needed at every level, but law cannot make men see right.

"We are confronted with a moral issue. It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the Constitution.

"The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal opportunities, whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated. If an American, because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public, if he cannot send his children to the best public schools, if he cannot vote for the public officials who represent him, if, in short, he cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place? Who among us would then be content with the counsels of patience and delay?

"We preach freedom around the world, and we mean it, and we cherish our freedom here at home; but are we to say to the world, and much more importantly, to each other that this is a land of the free except for the Negroes...that we have no master race except with respect to Negroes?

"We face, therefore, a moral crisis as a country and as a people...A great change is at hand, and our task, our obligation, is to make that revolution, that change, peaceful and constructive for all."

KENNEDY AND THE STEEL CRISIS OF 1962

John Kennedy asserted his authority in 1962 when United States Steel announced its decision to raise the price of steel. This was done in violation of the request of the government to keep the prices down. The problem was intensified since most other major steel companies were prepared to make the same price hike at the same time. Steel

is one of America's basic industries; that is, steel is used in the production of many other goods, from cars to classroom desks.

The President felt that an increase in the price of steel was not in the public interest. An increase in steel prices could have forced price increases on many products and caused inflation.

Let's look at what the President said: "In this hour in our nation's history, when we are confronted with a grave crisis in Berlin and Southeast Asia, when we are devoting our energies to economic stability and recovery, when we are asking Reservists* to leave their homes and families months on end and servicemen to risk their lives and asking union members to hold down their wage requests at a time when restraint and sacrifices are being asked of every citizen, the American people will find it hard, as I do, to accept a situation in which a tiny handful of steel executives whose pursuit of private power and profit exceeds their sense of public responsibility can show such utter contempt for the interest of 188 million Americans." The President invited the head of the largest steel company to the White House and persuaded him to retract the steel price hike. It probably helped when the President threatened that the government would cut off all steel purchases until the steel price rise was rescinded.

STUDENT ACTIVITY:

Using current magazines, cite examples of moral leadership or the lack of it in today's President.

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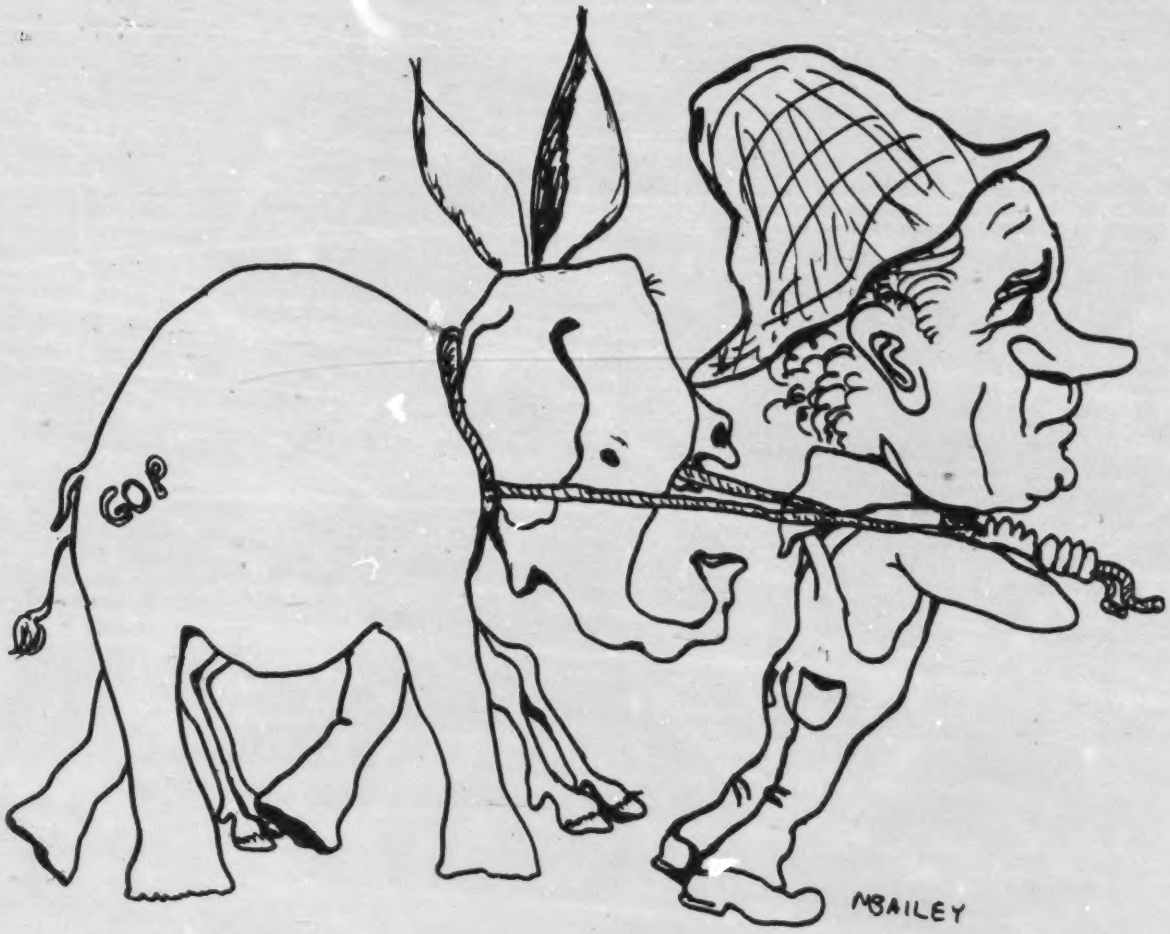
*Reservists - reserve military forces that are inactive unless called to active service during emergencies.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CHAPTER 7

THE PRESIDENT AS LEADER OF THE PARTY

Questions to think about while reading:

1. How does the President help his party in times of elections?
2. Is an effective President usually an effective leader of his party?
3. How did Andrew Jackson justify the principle of rotation in office?
4. What was the basic objective of Franklin D. Roosevelt's speech at Barnesville, Georgia?
5. Do you believe it helps or hinders candidates if the President actively campaigns for them?
6. How does a President help the fortunes of his party by appointments to federal jobs?

EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

The Constitution of the United States made no provision for political parties in our government. The men who formed the Constitution believed sincerely in the idea of a patriot President who would rise above faction politics. In fact, President Washington warned against the development of political parties in his Farewell Address. Despite Washington's warning, political parties emerged during his own administration between two political opponents in his cabinet--Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton and Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson. Hamilton and Jefferson were opposed on almost every issue of their day.

Jefferson said, "The many!"
Hamilton said, "The few!"
Like opposite sides of a penny
Were those exalted two.
If Jefferson said, "It's black, sir!"
Hamilton cried, "It's white!"
But, 'twixt the two, our Constitution started working right.

Hamilton liked the courtly,
Jefferson liked the plain,
They'd bow for a while, but shortly
The fight would break out again.

Hamilton favored a strong central government and a broad interpretation of the Constitution. He believed that Congress had the power to establish a national bank. Hamilton thought that power should be concentrated in the hands of a small well-informed property-holding governing class. He also believed an industrialization of America was important for its economy. His followers, known as Federalists, were found mostly in the commercial centers of the East where merchants and manufacturers were located.

Jefferson believed instead that the government that ruled the least was the best government. He also believed in a strict interpretation of the Constitution, that is, if a specific power was not granted in the Constitution, it could not be done. Abiding by this interpretation Jefferson argued with Hamilton that a national bank could not be established because the Constitution did not call for one. Jefferson was also a great believer in the agrarian or farming lifestyle--and in government of, by and for the people--not government by an aristocratic elite. The Jeffersonians or Democratic-Republicans later to be changed to Democrats under Andrew Jackson) were located in the rural sections of the North and South and in the frontier regions of the South and West.

By 1794, most of the voters had chosen their political party. Since this date the political life of the United States has revolved around the two-party system with "third parties" developing from time to time to press for policies they felt the major parties were neglecting. It is difficult to determine which national election actually found the Democratic-Republicans contesting with the Federalists. There was a small contest between the parties when John Adams was elected to be the second President but in his Inaugural Address, he did his best to minimize party differences.

By the election of 1800, party lines were drawn more distinctly. Jefferson's election at this time actually ended the Federalist Era. The Democratic-Republicans discovered that by organizing on a national scale, they could capture the Presidency. Jefferson was the kind of leader around whom men, legends, and victorious combinations formed and flourished. The President's role as Chief of Party is one that has been played ever since the administration of Thomas Jefferson.

For a short time after this, the country did experience one-party rule. The "Era of Good Feelings" came to an abrupt end with the political pressures involving John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson in the election of 1824 and 1828. The two-party system had a strong revival in 1828 when Andrew Jackson was elected with

the help of the Democratic Party, a combination of small farmers, Westerners, and lower class city dwellers. Out of the Jacksonian period came also the national nominating conventions. As a result of the elections of 1824 and 1828, the Whig political party emerged around three great Senate leaders, Clay, Webster and Calhoun, and had as its plank an opposition to Jackson.

The present Republican Party was established in 1855 and included the old Whigs, the anti-slavery Democrats, and the remnants of the Know-Nothing Party. Its main platform was opposition to the extension of slavery. It ran its first candidate in 1856 on the issue of nonextension of slavery into the territories and won power as a major party with the election of their candidate, Abraham Lincoln in 1860.

Our political parties have broadened the base of American politics. They have made the Presidency the focus of politics and have been responsible for altering the whole system of electing the President. The two-party system has brought about the Presidential primaries, the nominating conventions and the extensive political campaigns for the election of the President every few years.

DUTIES: THE PRESIDENT VIS-A-VIS* HIS PARTY

One of the most important tasks of a political party, on the national scene, is to elect a President. The importance of the Presidency as far as power, prestige, and patronage, for the well-being of either of the two major parties is beyond all calculation. It is during the national convention that the national party springs suddenly to life and for the next three or four months it almost looks like an organization set up to operate effectively throughout the land. This happens every four years, when a President is to be elected. In the intervals our political parties are in virtual hibernation.

When a candidate for the presidential office receives the nomination from his party, he becomes automatically the head of his party. In this capacity, he wields considerable influence on national affairs. Even if he loses the election, he still remains the "nominal" head of the party, a position of some importance.

The two major political parties in America, unlike their counterparts in Europe, are rather diffuse units with only a limited amount of party discipline and control. The position of leader of the Democratic or Republican party is in a sense sym-

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*vis-à-vis (vē' za-vē') - face-to-face; in relation to.

bolic. The parties are in reality loosely knit coalitions* of state and local factions that cannot be directed easily from a central point. If the President is a strong vote getter, the state and local leaders may feel indebted to him for helping them to stay in power. At the same time, the same leaders often boast of their achievement in electing a President who might have lost the election without their support. If the President is going to be successful, he must weld* these various groups in his party into a strong party organization. To do this, at times he finds it necessary to become involved in situations that are a little distasteful such as endorsing the candidacy of a man whom he personally dislikes, or getting himself personally involved in job distribution. This pressure for dispensing jobs to the party faithful was particularly distasteful to President Eisenhower. Other Presidents, like Franklin D. Roosevelt liked the process and used it to their advantage.

There are many ties between the party temporarily in command of the White House and the party in Congress. A President, whether Democrat or Republican, will often suit his legislative program to the mood and the interests of his allies in Congress. Often, the leaders of Congress who are of the same party as the President will yield to his pressure and push a bill which he follows, even if that piece of legislation is distasteful to them. The use of the appointing power by the President to win favor with members of Congress is as old as our government itself. This use of patronage was illustrated in the famous special session of Congress in 1933 at which many of the most important New Deal measures, sponsored by President Roos evelt were passed. Instead of bargaining with Congressmen during the session, the Administration let it be understood that the patronage would not be distributed until after the session had come to a close. In this way Congressmen, eager for certain appointments, were compelled to give favorable consideration to the President's legislative requests if they wished to remain on friendly terms with him. In addition, the President has great leverage of the distribution of federal funds for defense, education, public works to the various states and to Congressional districts.

As leader of the party, the President has a high degree of control over the choice of his Vice-President. This office is an excellent one in which to place a chosen successor as Andrew Jackson did with Martin Van Buren, and it can be used as

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*coalition - an alliance or union.

*weld - to bring together as a unit.

a Presidential liaison* with the party. Presidents have recognized their need for continuous help with partisan (party) matters by appointing White House staff for this purpose also.

PRESIDENTIAL DILEMMA: CAMPAIGNING

The American people, on the whole, expect the President when in office, to be above party politics because he is the President of all the people. On the other hand, the party expects the President to lend a helping hand as one of his partisan obligations. This has caused a dilemma for many Presidents.

Woodrow Wilson caused a furor in 1918 when he campaigned for the return of legislators who would support his policies on the League of Nations. In this off-year Congressional election, Wilson responded to pleas for help by Democratic congressmen whose seats were slipping and issued an open letter to the American people urging them to vote for a Democratic majority in both houses of Congress. This would be a vote for Democratic candidates who would support the President's efforts in the peace negotiations following World War I. Wilson had definitely decided to attend the peace conference in person and felt that if the Democrats should suffer a defeat, he would be seriously embarrassed at the peace table. He might not then be able to command the prestige necessary to force through his program of a just peace. During the war he had repeatedly appealed to the people and they had not failed him. He assumed that they never would do so. However, the momentous result was that the Democrats lost control of the Senate, and within that body, the Committee on Foreign Relations came under the control of Wilson's enemy, Republican Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who was later to cause Wilson extreme grief over the question of America's joining the League of Nations.

The Republicans interpreted this victory as a repudiation* of Wilson. He had actually asked for a vote of confidence and it was not given. Therefore, they said, Wilson had forfeited his leadership and should not be regarded as the spokesman for his country.

It is impossible to prove whether or not Wilson's appeal helped or hindered these elections. The general assumption is that if Wilson had not done this, the Democrats would not have lost Congress. However, the opinion was expressed that

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*liaison - go between; communication between groups or units.

*repudiation - rejection or casting off.

it might be just as true that if Wilson had not issued the appeal, the Democrats would have lost the Senate and the House by an even wider margin.

In addition, there are other factors to consider. It is usually normal to have a reaction against the party in power during the mid-term congressional elections and it is usual for the party in power to suffer a sharp reversal when the mid-term Congressional elections have come during a war.

In 1954, President Eisenhower allowed scores of Republican Congressmen to come to the White House and be photographed with him. But the President was not very discriminating and weakened his bargaining power by giving Republican Congressmen the impression that his blessing would be forthcoming whether they supported his program or not. In extreme circumstances the President may threaten political reprisals* against uncooperative Congressmen of his own party. But he must think twice before he takes this step because he is limited in what he can do. He cannot threaten to dissolve Congress or to call a new election. Even though it may be time for a regular election, he cannot ask for the election of members of the opposite party. He can, however, try to have them replaced with new men who will be more loyal to him. In 1938, Franklin Roosevelt campaigned against conservative Democrats in Congress who were opposing his New Deal programs. He supported those Democratic candidates who were loyal to his legislative program. Roosevelt discovered, to his sorrow, that this is not an easy task. Excerpts from F.D. Roosevelt's speech at Barnesville, Georgia concerning these elections follow:

August 10, 1938

The task of meeting the economic and social needs of the South, on the broad front that is absolutely necessary, calls for public servants whose hearts are sound, whose heads are sane--whose hands are strong, striving everlastingly to better the lot of their fellowmen....

You are familiar enough with the processes of Government to know that the Chief Executive cannot take action on national or regional problems, unless they have been first translated into Acts of Congress passed by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States.

Such action by the Congress, it is equally clear, must be vigorously supported by the Senators and Representatives whose constituents are directly concerned with Southern economics and Southern social needs. Senators and Congressmen who are not wholeheartedly in sympathy with these needs cannot be expected to give them vigorous support.

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*reprisals - retaliation for an injury with the intent of inflicting at least as much injury in return.

Translating that into more intimate terms, it means that if the people of the State of Georgia want definite action in the Congress of the United States, they must send to that Congress Senators and Representatives who are willing to stand up and fight night and day for Federal statutes drawn to meet actual needs....

You, the people of Georgia, in the coming Senatorial primary, for example, have a perfect right to choose any candidate you wish. I do not seek to impair that right, and I am not going to impair that right of the people of this State; but because Georgia has been good enough to call me her adopted son and because for many long years I have regarded Georgia as my "other state," I feel no hesitation in telling you what I would do if I could vote here next month. I am strengthened in that decision to give you my personal opinion of the coming Senatorial primary by the fact that during the past few weeks I have had many requests from distinguished citizens of Georgia....

Let me preface my statement by saying that I have personally known three of the candidates for the United States Senate for many years. All of them have had legislative or executive experience as Government servants. We may therefore justly consider their records and their public utterances--and we can justly, also, seek to determine for ourselves what is their inward point of view in relationship to present and future problems of government.

Here in Georgia, however, my old friend, the senior Senator from this State, cannot possibly in my judgment be classified as belonging to the liberal school of thought--and, therefore, the argument that he has long served in the Senate falls by the wayside. Here in Georgia the issue is a different one from that in Kentucky.

I speak seriously and in the most friendly way in terms of liberal and conservative for the very simple fact that on my shoulders rests a responsibility to the people of the United States...I was chosen Chief Executive with the mandate to seek by definite action to correct many evils of the past and of the present....

To the Congress of the United States I make recommendations...leaving it to the Congress to translate the recommendations into law. The majority of the Senate and House have agreed with those objectives and have worked with me, and I have worked with them to translate those objectives into action. Some have given "lip service" to some of the objectives but have not raised their little fingers actively to attain the objectives themselves. Too often these few have listened to the dictatorship of a small minority of individuals and corporations who oppose the objectives themselves.

What I am about to say will be no news, to my old friend...Senator Walter George. It will be no surprise to him because I have recently had personal correspondence with him....

Let me make it clear that he is my personal friend...for whom I have a real affectionate regard but with whom I differ heartily and sincerely on the principles and policies of how the Government of the United States ought to be run.

To carry out my responsibility as President, it is clear that if there is to be success in our Government there ought to be cooperation between members of my own party and myself.... That is one of the essentials of a party form of government. The test lies rather in the answer to two questions: first, has the record of the candidate shown a constant active fighting attitude in favor of the broad objectives of the party and of the government as they are constituted today; and secondly, does

the candidate really believe in those objectives? I regret that in the case of my friend, Senator George, I cannot honestly answer either of these questions in the affirmative.

In the case of another candidate in the State of Georgia for the United States Senate--former Governor Talmadge--I am very certain in my own mind that his election would contribute very little to practical progress in government.

The third candidate... United States Attorney Lawrence Camp, I have also known for many years. He has had experience in the State Legislature; he has served as Attorney General of Georgia for four years; he has made a distinguished record in the United States District Court. I regard him... as a man who honestly believes that many things must be done and done now to improve the economic and social conditions of the country, a man who is willing to fight for these objectives.

Therefore, answering the requests that have come to me from many leading citizens of Georgia that I make my position clear, I have no hesitation in saying that if I were able to vote in the September primaries in this state, I most assuredly should cast my ballot for Lawrence Camp.

Both Wilson and Roosevelt demonstrated the fact that since political parties operate in the various states, it limits the capacity of any President to gain a majority in Congress for his party. No matter how popular he is on the national scene, he must have some influence in the particular state or even Congressional district if he is going to have an effect on the legislator's voting. It is highly improbable for him to be very effective if the constituency to whom he is appealing is at odds with the President's program as is the case in many southern districts on civil rights. Where the President is popular and his issues are not controversial, he will be sought by the party's Congressional candidate in that district. In some states local candidates want the support and the blessings of the President who is of their party, but in other states where the President may be unpopular, such support is shunned. The party simply asks the President to stay away.

President Eisenhower did not want to get involved in elections, but was forced reluctantly into this role. Eisenhower also tried to stay out of party politics when Richard Nixon was the Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1960, but because of party pressures he did step in at the last minute to offer support and to issue an appeal to the people to vote for Mr. Nixon. Eisenhower was so popular that many Congressmen were elected by riding on his "coat tails."

The Congressional Election of 1970 saw the President of the United States, Richard M. Nixon, stumping the country to assure the election of candidates who were most likely to support and vote for his programs.

In Tennessee, Mr. Nixon worked actively for the defeat of veteran Senator Albert Gore. Senator Gore, a Democrat from a predominantly Republican state, had voted against the administration's two choices for the vacant Supreme Court seat. The men nominated had been conservative southern Republicans. The President felt he could insure the defeat of Senator Gore by actively supporting his opponent. President Nixon succeeded in his efforts.

President Nixon also went to Florida to campaign for his old friend Republican Congressman William Cramer who was running against Democratic State Senator Lawton Chiles for the Senate seat vacated by retiring Senator Spessard Holland. However, in this instance, the President did not base his appeal on the Chiles politics but on his friendship with Cramer. Mr. Nixon was unable to bring enough influence to bear and Mr. Cramer was defeated. President Nixon was criticized for his overactive participation in the campaign and for his too partisan* way of speaking in the campaign. In fact, there were some observers who maintained that his efforts were counterproductive.

PLAYING THE ROLE: GOOD AND POOR LEADERS OF PARTY

Some Presidents liked to be active leaders of the party and were good at it; other Presidents did not like it and were bad at it. Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt were especially skillful party leaders. Jefferson's success in molding and leading a party and then using it to influence Congress proves that he was an effective leader.

Jackson thoroughly enjoyed playing the part of the politician and played it with great zest. He gave his administration a unique sense of cohesion. The Democratic Party owes its strong heritage to this strong party leader. Jackson distributed the "spoils of victory" to his supporters in such a way as to build a team almost fanatical in its loyalty to him. Since the days of Jackson, the Presidency has been generally recognized as a source of tremendous patronage. Few Presidents follow the slogan "to the victor belong the spoils" but all of them give many jobs to loyal party members. Admittedly, there is much we can say about the drawbacks of Jackson's policy, but it did make it possible for more men to participate in government in Jackson's time. Jackson believed that people of humble origin could qualify for pub-

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*partisan - favoring a party.

lic office and gave his reasons as stated below for his principle of rotation in office:

"There are... few men who can for any great length of time enjoy office and power without being more or less under the influence of feelings unfavorable to the faithful discharge of their public duties... they are apt to acquire a habit of looking with indifference upon the public interests, and of tolerating conduct from which an unpracticed man would revolt... "The duties of all public officers are, or at least admit of being made, so plain and simple that men of intelligence may readily qualify themselves for their performance. And I cannot but believe that more is lost by long continuance of men in office than is generally to be gained by their experience.... In a country where offices are created solely for the benefit of the people, no one man has any more intrinsic right to official station than another. Offices were not established to give support to particular men at public expense... neither appointment to, nor continuance in, office is a matter of right."

Today, because of civil service reforms, the "loaves and fishes" of federal patronage are not as plentiful. However, the President still has enough jobs to use the leverage of patronage to advance his policies.

Jackson's influence as a party leader did not end when he left the Presidency. He still remained the "power behind the party" until his death, and he was directly responsible for the election of both Presidents Martin Van Buren and James K. Polk.

Lincoln, a magnificent and effective leader of his party, rallied doubting Republican leaders and their followers to the cause of the Union. His cabinet was an artfully constructed political alliance, and although he had no personal friends or followers in the Cabinet, he was successful in uniting his chief associates in the effort to save the Union.

Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin D. Roosevelt achieved great triumphs in their administrations as catalysts* of Congressional action. They did this because of their influence on their respective parties. Franklin D. Roosevelt was particularly a superb party leader. He truly enjoyed the game of politics.

Wilson's undoubted success as a party leader was marred by two of his basic errors in the last years of his Presidency: his overtly partisan appeal for a Democratic party victory in 1918, and his refusal to give some Republican representation in the American peace commission, and in these instances Wilson may have failed

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*catalyst - increases reaction.

to make the necessary, if subtle, distinction between the President as Party Leader and the President as Chief of State.

Before Harry S. Truman became President, he had not only been a U.S. Senator, but he had also been the Kansas City organization's candidate and office holder for a quarter of a century. He reached the Presidency convinced that party loyalty was a high virtue in American politics. Truman has always been a loyal member of his party. When Truman became President, he devoted a great deal of time to the welfare of the Democratic Party. He played the role of "Chief of Party" with great relish. Truman built his image of the Democratic Presidential office as a young worshipper of Wilson, as a mature follower of Franklin Roosevelt, and as a constant reader of political biography. But with all his devotion to the Democratic Party, President Harry S. Truman, on truly grave issues, was always guided by the national interest.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, was hampered rather than helped by his leadership of the Republican party. However, because of his image as a world renowned leader and a popular national leader, he was able to serve as a peacemaker within the Republican party and to contribute to its cohesiveness. The mere presence of Eisenhower in the White House was enough to unite the Republican party. Eisenhower, however, neither liked the game of politics he was engaged in, nor did he try to understand its complexities. He thought party politics a "dirty" business and did not seem to trust politicians as a whole. Being used to giving orders in the army and having them carried out immediately, Ike found being leader of the party quite frustrating. He discovered that not only could the party "make" him, but it could also "brake" him. In spite of this, Eisenhower was much beloved as the Republican leader and the party's rank-and-file member.

THE PEOPLE VIEW THE PRESIDENT AND PARTY

The Presidential roles of being the Leader of the Nation and the Chief of the party cannot be easily reconciled. To act as Chief of the Nation and to think as Party Chief can often lead to serious difficulties. On the whole, our Presidents have done well in both roles.

It troubles many people to watch their Chief of State dabbling in politics as Party Leader. However, if he is going to be an effective leader of Congress and

achieve a loyal and cohesive administration, he must play the role of Party Leader to the best of his ability--without letting this role hamper his other duties.

CONCLUSION

There is no question that the office of the President of the United States is a very powerful one. Since he presides over a large and wealthy nation, he may be the most powerful man in the world. The Founding Fathers intended to have the Presidency be a strong office and the Constitution gives the President strong powers, particularly as the Commander in Chief and as the conductor of the foreign policy of the United States. But the Constitution also provided important limitations on the power of the President. His term of office is limited, the Congress holds the financial purse-strings and the Senate has to approve his important appointments and must approve treaties with other nations. Students of government are agreed that in recent years the power of the President has grown at the expense of Congress. It is safe to assume that Congress will gradually move to reassert its position as a co-equal branch of government. On the other hand, the people of the United States would not like to see a timid or meek man in the White House. All the great Presidents, George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Delano Roosevelt were strong Presidents.

What will emerge, as it always does in the history of our country, is a sensible compromise which allows the President to exercise the powers of his office but leaves the prerogatives of the representatives of the people in Congress untouched.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

THE LAVINIA AND CHARLES P. SCHWARTZ CITIZENSHIP PROJECT

TEACHERS GUIDE

THE PRESIDENT AT WORK

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THE PRESIDENT AT WORK

The President at Work is a unit that is concerned with how the President actually goes about his work. The material in this unit consists of cartoons, introductory passages explaining the various functions prescribed to the Presidency and actual case studies to illustrate how these functions have been implemented in the past.

By using selective case studies for illustration, the students should be able to identify contemporary events and relate them to Presidential functions. The students, hopefully, will have a better working knowledge of the Presidency when they have finished the unit.

The President at Work is not meant to be a complete or comprehensive treatment of the Presidency. At teacher discretion, this unit may be expanded to include aspects of the Presidency not treated here. The unit is also not meant to be prescriptive, but rather a springboard for studying the functions of the Presidency. Teachers may refer to the bibliography for assistance if they desire to expand the unit.

You will note that interspersed throughout the text are questions for the students. Some of these questions are meant to be discussed in class by way of review, as noted in "Suggested Procedures," and others are meant to stimulate thought for the student while he is reading and working on the unit. The Teacher's Guide is intended to provide additional suggestions and opportunities for inquiry, in-depth discussion, research, and class activities.

As one on-going activity throughout the unit, the teacher can ask that students collect articles and cartoons from current newspapers and magazines, drawing their own interpretations on the functions of the Presidency from

these contemporary sources. At the conclusion of study, the material could be used as a scrapbook and be evaluated for comprehension and completeness as it relates to the issues studied.

The President at Work is divided into the following Chapters:

Introduction:	The Many Hats of the President
Chapter 1:	The President Presents His Inaugural Address
Chapter 2:	The President Works with is Staff and Cabinet
Chapter 3:	The President Works with Congress
Chapter 4:	The President as Commander-in-Chief
Chapter 5:	The President as Leader of the Nation
Chapter 6:	The President as Leader of the Party

Suggested Readings for the Teacher:

Rossiter, Clinton. The American Presidency, New York: Mentor, 1962, 75 cents. Advanced students could also read this entire book upon which much of this unit is based. If possible, purchase some copies for classroom use for extra assignments.

Also see Rossiter's Bibliography, pp. 261-264.

Rossiter, Clinton. Parties and Politics in America, New York: Mentor, 75 cents.

Newstadt, Richard E. Presidential Power, New York: Mentor, 75 cents.

Hyman, Sidney. The American President, New York, 1954.

Warren, Sidney, editor. The American President, New Jersey: Spectrum, 1967. Collection of essays from days of Washington to present.

Anderson, Patrick. The President's Men, New York: Anchor, 1969.

Roche, John P. and Leonard W. Levy. The Presidency, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Work, 1964.

Documents in American Government.

Lott, Davis Newton. The President's Speak, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969. The Inaugural Addresses of the American Presidents from Washington to Nixon.

Suggested Filmstrip

The Presidency by Guidance Associates.

Includes three records and filmstrips.

ADDITIONAL ON-GOING ACTIVITIES

The following suggestions are applicable to all chapters and ideas contained in the book, and should serve to increase depth and breadth of understanding as students investigate the processes and problems of the Presidency:

1. Some words are defined in the text as they occur. Students can be requested to keep a supplementary word list, with appropriate definitions, as they work through the material. Under the heading "Concepts and Ideas for Discussion and Reflection" in the Teacher's Guide, the teacher will find concepts and terms which in general require more than simple definition,and which are subject to considerable debate and discussion. The generalizations given are in large measure only representative of those which might be made, and in several cases require further inquiry and discussion before their validity can be established.

2. Time lines help students develop their sense of the ordering of events and chronology. Graphs and charts depict visually what is sometimes difficult to convey through the written word. Selected students can be requested to prepare time lines to help fix a sequence of events where Presidential decisions are called for (e.g.--a day-by-day account of the Cuban Missile Crisis).

3. The concept of leadership is central to understanding the Presidency. Limits on the time and space preclude exhaustive examination of all of the men who have held the office, especially in regard to those who have, for whatever reasons, failed to fulfill the hopes placed in them at their inauguration. Periodically, students might be selected to investigate and report on Presidents who are generally held in low esteem by historians (e.g. --Harding, Grant, Buchanan, or Pierce). A discussion which compares popular and successful Presidents with a lightly regarded counterpart can be made based on considerations of leadership ability, decision-making, political perspicacity, personal character, and other qualities by which men are often judged.

4. There is available an abundance of classroom posters, charts, filmstrips, and films for use at appropriate times. The Presidency (see "Teacher's Readings") is only one of the many audio-visual supplements which can help to clarify the major understandings of the unit.

SUGGESTED CHAPTER ACTIVITIES

INTRODUCTION

--Discussion Questions:

1. What is the difference between our concept of what a "President" is and does and what we mean when referring to other heads of state, such as "king," "Prime Minister," or "dictator"?

2. Engage students in a discussion of the cover, "The Many Hats of the President." This is really a question of the roles a President is expected to fill, and may be initiated by having students examine the various roles we all assume, both on the job and in our daily lives.

--Optional Activity:

The class could listen to the portion of the Mikado which gives the duties of Pooh-Bah, making comparisons and drawing analogies to the duties the President is expected to perform.

Chapter 1: THE MANY HATS OF THE PRESIDENT

--Concepts and Ideas for Discussion and Reflection:

national welfare	justice
self-government	patriotism
moral force	liberty
statesmanship	citizenship

--Generalizations to be Formulated and Debated:

1. Presidents, in their Inaugural Addresses, tend to dwell on what is right with America, and see an even brighter future for it.

2. Inaugural speeches are politically motivated, and not meant to be taken too seriously.

--Optional Activities:

1. Using the inaugural addresses as primary source material, ask students to write a summary of the President's views on:

   a. the problems he sees facing the nation

   b. what he believes is necessary to solve the problems

   What similarities and differences can be perceived among the three in their views regarding the nature and functions of the office they will hold?

2. Using textbooks and other secondary source materials, have students make a chart comparing the promises of each President with the results of his administration (see example in student book). Ask students to offer explanations for possible successes and failures. Some possible responses are:

a. war

b. other party controls Congress

c. economic problems

d. public apathy (ex. 1920's)

e. post-war readjustment problems

Chapter 2: THE PRESIDENT WORKS WITH HIS STAFF AND CABINET

--Concepts and Ideas for Discussion and Reflection:

administrative staff

delegated authority

foreign policy

loyalty

--Generalizations to be Formulated and Debated:

1. The more complex society becomes, the larger the Presidential staff and government agencies will grow.

2. As government grows bigger, the less opportunity there is for an individual to exercise influence upon it.

3. The effectiveness and influence of cabinet members is largely dependent upon the pleasure of the President.

--Discussion Question:

How does this chapter illustrate the problems of decision-making and communication in contemporary government? How much political power can be delegated to staff and cabinet? What are the advantages and disadvantages which follow such delegation?

--Optional Activities:

1. Request that students write a short paragraph telling what the cartoon of the President, his staff, and cabinet members mean to them. Keep this work in order to compare it with their thoughts after they have studied the chapter.

2. Using a copy of the Pentagon Papers, edited by the New York Times, find out how many or how few of the President's staff or cabinet knew the particulars of what was going on in Viet Nam.

3. Students can make a list of cabinet members, their titles, responsibilities, and the date of creation of the office. To what general concerns are the most recent cabinet positions addressed?

--Final Thought:

Government agencies and staffs continue to grow. The number of farmers in America, to cite one example, continues to decline. A legislator recently introduced a bill into the House making it illegal for the number of employees in the Department of Agriculture to exceed the number of farmers in the country. How many prospective office-holders have something to say about the growth of "Big Government?" How much of this is really under the control of a President?

Chapter 3: THE PRESIDENT WORKS WITH CONGRESS

--Concepts and Ideas for Discussion and Reflection:

legislative process	civil rights
"State of the Union"	political compromise
fiscal responsibility	separation of powers
mass media	diplomacy

free enterprise

--Generalization to be Formulated and Debated:

1. Government is most effectively run when the President and Congress are both from the same party.

2. A "strong" President can wield enough power to bring a recalcitrant Congress into line with his wishes and programs.

--Discussion Questions:

1. Using the four points or factors listed in the student book on success in the relationship between the President and Congress, suggest that students apply them to each President discussed in Chapter III. Students might wish to attempt to evaluate and rate each President discussed in terms of relative success or failure.

2. How do the examples of the relationships between Presidents and Congress given in this chapter illustrate the concept of "checks and balances?"

3. What lessons do the experiences of Presidents who failed to deal effectively with Congress deem to teach prospective Presidential candidates today?

--Optional Activities

1. "Oiling the Wheel" cartoon. Put this sentence on the board and ask students to complete it:

   "In this cartoon the President is (what he's doing) in order to (why he's doing it)."

2. The Kennedy and Johnson . . . interview may be done orally with student volunteers, perhaps using a panel of questioners in a simulated TV setting.

3. Small groups may be assigned the task of reporting on the problems of John Quincy Adams with Congress, and also the difficulties experienced by Andrew Johnson in greater detail. The class can be asked to make comparisons between these two, including Woodrow Wilson for even more insight. It should be noted that although the President is "head of State," partisan politics sometimes is injected into our national affairs.

Chapter 4: THE PRESIDENT AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

--Concepts and Ideas for Discussion and Reflection:

Manifest Destiny	military intervention
public opinion	nuclear war
collective security	national crisis

--Generalizations to be Formulated and Debated:

1. In the United States, military policy has been subordinate to civilian control.

2. The President is the only person who really has enough information at his disposal to commit the United States to war.

3. The President now wields power far greater than that intended for him to have by the framers of the Constitution.

--Discussion Questions:

1. Ask students to interpret the cartoon portraying the President as Commander-in-Chief. In what respects does this role differ considerably from the other roles the President is expected to fill?

2. What are the potential political problems which face a President

in his role as Commander-in-Chief? (The dilemmas faced by Polk and Truman are discussed in the student book; comparable dilemmas were faced by McKinley, and, more recently, Lyndon B. Johnson in Viet Nam. Frequently, political problems may surface after a war is concluded rather than during the conflict itself, when the nation is more likely to be united in a common cause.)

3. How do students account for the fact that there has often been disagreement between the President and the military in regard to the conduct of a war?

--Optional Activities:

1. The section on Johnson and Viet Nam, with implications for restrictions on Presidential power, can be handled as a debate. Students should be provided with research time and recent source materials. Periodicals from 1967 to the present will provide many good sources.

2. The Truman-MacArthur situation lends itself to debate or individual research. This episode is very revealing of Question No. 3, above.

3. Although we tend to view our Presidents as civilians who have assumed the role of military leader through necessity, selected students can be asked to investigate instances where famous military leaders have become President. Can students make any generalizations on the basis of this research?

Chapter 5: THE PRESIDENT AS LEADER OF THE NATION

--Concepts and Ideas for Discussion and Reflection:

ceremonial functions	special interest
states' rights	standard-of-living
secession	national resources
party loyalty	equal opportunity

--Generalizations to be Formulated and Debated:

1. The quality of moral leadership has been present in all of the Presidents we now call "great."

2. The exercise of moral leadership depends upon an expanded view of the nature of man and the function of government.

--Discussion Questions:

1. Why is the President depicted as the "Pied Piper of the U.S.?" (cartoon)

2. What type of tone did Lincoln attempt to set with his Second Inaugural Address (student book)? The reference to God can serve as a point for discussion of the Judeo-Christian ethic upon which America was founded.

--Optional Activity:

Vastly differing conceptions of the function of the President as the moral leader of the nation can be obtained by having students summarize the major ideas of Woodrow Wilson and Calvin Coolidge on this subject. This can be done effectively simply by having students prepare a list of quotations from the speeches and writings of each man. A more narrowly focused comparison can be made by contrasting the Eisenhower stand on integration with that of John F. Kennedy.

Chapter 6: THE PRESIDENT AS LEADER OF THE PARTY

--Concepts and Ideas for Discussion and Reflection:

partisan politics	vote of confidence
Constitutional interpretation	mandate
two-party system	controversial issue

"spoils system" (patronage)

--Generalizations to be Formulated and Debated:

1. The office of the Presidency seldom exerts enough power to influence events at the local political level.

2. Our most distinguished Presidents have been those who gained experience from holding political office in lower levels of government.

--Discussion Questions:

1. Ask the students what they would choose for the title to this cartoon. (President as leader of the party.)

2. How do students explain the fact that seldom in our history has a President been accused of putting his party ahead of the interests of the entire nation? (This can be contrasted with the

conduct of political leaders and machines at the local level. One might also refer back to Jackson and the tariff dispute--his actions were contrary to the wishes both of his geographic region and his party.)

3. Discuss the uses, advantages, and disadvantages of our party system. (What role have third or minor parties played in our democracy?)

--Optional Activities:

1. Have students role play the parts of Presidents Jackson, Lincoln, Teddy Roosevelt, Wilson,and Nixon in discussing the responsibilities to their party. This can be accomplished through the use of groups. Divide the class into groups of five or six,and have each write a statement for their President. One student from each group can be selected to take the part of the President the group has been assigned or selected.

2. Allow students to group together to form political parties with the objective of capturing the school board, so as to institute such reforms in the school as they might wish to see. A platform should be written and a candidate chosen. Remind each party that their program must conform to state law, provide for financing, and be responsive to community wishes. The actual election need not be held, since the parties and candidates will soon perceive the difficulties in balancing the practical with the desirable--a dilemma facing all elected leaders, especially the President.

CULMINATING ACTIVITIES

1. Discuss student scrapbooks in class after having evaluated them.

2. Ask students to list what they consider to be the five most serious problems facing the nation today. Ask them what type of man can be effective in solving them. This should be the man we have as President.